THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA

1618–1621

A CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS IN THE INDIA OFFICE, BRITISH MUSEUM AND PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

BY

WILLIAM FOSTER

EDITOR OF 'LETTERS RECEIVED BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1615–17'
'THE EMBASSY OF SIR THOMAS ROE TO THE GREAT MOGUL,' ETC.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA IN COUNCIL

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1906

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
LONDON, EDINBURGH
NEW YORK AND TORONTO

Lib. Com.

PREFACE

THE story of the initiation of British commerce with the peninsula of India has been already told at length in the documents printed in the six volumes of *Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, 1602–17, published in 1896–1902. The present volume continues the narrative down to the end of the year 1621.

The papers here calendared number about four hundred and sixty, and comprise all those, either emanating from or directly relating to the English factories in India, which could be found either in the archives of the India Office or in the Manuscripts Department of the British Museum, with the addition of a few from the East Indies series at the Public Record Office. Of the India Office collections laid under contribution the most important are the O. C. (Original Correspondence) series, the Marine Records, and the Surat, Patna, and Miscellaneous sections of the Factory Records. The British Museum documents chiefly drawn upon are *Egerton MSS.* 2122 and 2123, the former of which contains copies of the letters dispatched from the Surat Factory during the year ending February, 1620, while the latter includes transcripts of the letters received at the same factory from August to November, 1621.

Most of the documents here dealt with are entirely new to historical students. Of the remainder, a few have been printed, in whole or in part, in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe* (Hakluyt Society, 1899), or other works; while, as the reader is probably aware, abstracts of those in the O.C. and East Indies series have already appeared in Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury's *Calendar*

of State Papers, East Indies, 1617–21, published by the Record Office in 1870. Mr. Sainsbury's summaries are, however, much more condensed than those now given, and moreover his volume has been for some years out of print. The documents belonging to the collections at the British Museum or Public Record Office are specially indicated; all others are to be assumed to belong to the India Office archives.

The method of calendaring followed is based upon that adopted in the reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. All passages which appeared to be of sufficient importance have been quoted in full; in other cases merely a summary has been given. Special attention has been paid, not only to points of historical interest, but also to any information regarding the products and manufactures of India, the weights, measures, and coins in use, and other similar topics. Native names and expressions in the factors' letters have been carefully noted, as well as any particularly quaint specimens of seventeenth-century English.

Acknowledgements are due to Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., and Professor J. F. Blumhardt, for assistance in explaining the many vernacular words occurring in the text; to Mr. William Crooke, Lieut.-Colonel J. R. Dunlop-Smith, C.I.E., and Sir George Watt, C.I.E., who have helped with regard to specific points; to Messrs. A. W. Thomson and G. T. Worthy, of the Record Department, India Office, who have assisted in reading the proofs and compiling the index; and to Mr. A. N. Wollaston, C.I.E., the Registrar and Superintendent of Records, under whose general superintendence the volume has been prepared, and who has in particular revised the spelling, &c., of the Persian and Arabic words in the text and notes.

INTRODUCTION

In January, 1618, the English factories in the dominions of the Great Mogul numbered five in all: Agra, Ahmadābād, Burhānpur (in Khāndesh), Broach, and Surat. At the first of these places—Jahāngīr's capital, though he was often away from it for a long period—Francis Fettiplace and Robert Hughes busied themselves in procuring indigo, carpets, and calicoes for dispatch to England, and in trying (with small success) to dispose of their broadcloth and other English goods to the traders of Northern India. William Biddulph, the head factor, was absent, in attendance upon the Court, which was then at Ahmadābād. The regular factory in the latter city was under the charge of John Browne, who wrote poetry in the intervals of business, and may be looked upon as the earliest of Anglo-Indian versemakers.[1] At this time he had probably little leisure for such amusement, for the presence of the Emperor had caused an increased demand for foreign goods; and moreover the Surat factors looked to Ahmadābād for a considerable proportion of the lading of the annual ship for England. At Burhānpur, where, as the head quarters of the frontier force, sword-blades and scarlet broadcloth would naturally be in request, a factory had been opened by Nicholas Bangham in 1616; but it was now about to be given up, as, owing to the conclusion of peace with the Deccan princes, and the consequent departure of Shāh Jahān[2], trade had largely fallen off. Broach was not only a convenient halting-place on the Surat-Ahmadābād road, but an important centre for the purchase of calicoes, which were sent thither from the surrounding districts in large quantities to be washed and bleached. Surat, the oldest and most important of the

[1] In the scarce little volume, published in 1616, containing Coryat's letters from India, will be found some facetious verses addressed to him by Browne, who is there described as a Londoner born but now resident at Ahmadābād. Even in his business correspondence Browne adopted a rather affected style, and the Surat factors were sometimes sarcastic regarding his poetical phraseology.

[2] This was the title conferred by Jahāngīr upon his son Khurram in October, 1617, as a reward for his services in the Deccan. The old name, however, continued to be used, and in the present volume the factors for the most part ring the changes on various forms of it.

English settlements, was under the management of Thomas Kerridge, an able and experienced merchant, who had come out with Best in 1612, and was now the senior of the Company's servants in India. He was assisted by Thomas Rastell, and a little later the two were joined by a new-comer from England, Giles James. These three exercised also a general control over all the factories, in subordination, however, to Sir Thomas Roe, His Majesty's ambassador, who had recently been invested by the Company with plenary powers, even in matters commercial. The annoyance of Kerridge and his colleagues at this arrangement is only too manifest in their letters, especially those written after the ambassador's departure.

Of the events of the remaining year of Roe's embassy, a brief summary will suffice, as the subject has been fully dealt with in a work published a few years ago.[1] Had he consulted merely his health and his own inclinations he would have gone home with the *Bull* in February, 1618. But the Company had begged him to stay, at the same time putting into his hands full authority to remedy the abuses he had so strongly criticized; and this in itself constituted an obligation scarcely to be evaded. He had also received a letter from King James himself, applauding his action in regard to Persia, encouraging him to 'ripen and prepare that business', and empowering him to conclude a commercial treaty with the Shāh, should such a course prove feasible. Further, there was the natural wish to finish if possible the work he had been sent out to perform, or at all events to achieve sufficient to enable him to return with credit. Impelled by these considerations, he decided to remain another year, although, as he wrote to Sir Thomas Smythe, the Governor of the Company, 'my employment is nothing but vexation and trouble; little honor, lesse profitt.' The impossibility of concluding anything of the nature of a treaty—an idea utterly alien to the political system of the Moguls—he fully recognized; but he still had hopes that, partly by the aid of fresh presents from Europe and partly by threats of force at sea, he might obtain some concessions which would place the English trade on a basis that would be reasonably secure. When, in February,

[1] *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe . . . as narrated in his Journal and Correspondence.* Hakluyt Society, 1899.

1618, he dispatched his annual budget of letters to England, the outlook was distinctly promising. He was on better terms with Prince Shāh Jahān, whose influence with his father was now at its height; and he had lately managed to secure the friendship of Āsaf Khān, by whom much of the current business of the court was conducted, and whose sister, Nūr Mahāl (Nūr Jahān), wielded behind the *parda* an almost irresistible influence over her imperial consort. As a result, Roe was fed with promises of full compliance with his demands, and his hopes rose high in accordance; but, however much friendship he might profess, Āsaf Khān was either unable or unwilling to procure the promised satisfaction, and the year wore on without any real progress being made. At last, in August, 1618, induced partly by the approaching departure of Jahāngīr for Agra (whither Roe had no wish to follow), and partly seeking to profit by a dispute between the Portuguese and the natives, and a consequent apprehension that the former would attack the Gujarāt ports, the ambassador consented to do what he had so long held out against, viz. to deal direct with the Prince and content himself with such concessions as he could obtain from him.

This course he could the more reasonably take, since at the close of the previous year the *sūbah* of Gujarāt had been added to the Prince's dignities, and he was therefore now the overlord of the English at Ahmadābād and Broach as well as at Surat; in fact, Agra was the only important station of theirs outside his jurisdiction, and in regard to that place the English had never yet found cause of serious complaint. The negotiations, which were characterized by the usual duplicity and tergiversation, are detailed on p. 38; also the general result, which was embodied in a *farmān* to the local officials. The Prince's amity towards the English was publicly acknowledged; in the case of a Portuguese attack on their ships, the Surat authorities were ordered to assist them with boats or any other requisites; they were to be allowed to trade freely, and former abuses in the levying of customs were not to be repeated; jewels were to be admitted free of duty; goods passing to the port were to be exempt from tolls; the factors at Surat were to be permitted, under certain restrictions, to hire any house they pleased for a factory; liberty was given them to govern themselves according to their own laws; any refugee was to be surrendered, even if he

had embraced Islām; their native agents were secured against molestation; and the ever-recurring difficulty about the examination of presents intended for the Court was settled. Liberty to buy or build a dwelling-house was, however, obstinately refused; and an attempt was made to limit the number of Englishmen permitted to wear arms in the city. The stipulation was natural, considering the frequent disorders committed by the sailors from the ships; but Roe was determined not to yield the point, and at last, by giving a written undertaking (p. 40) that his countrymen should 'do no wrong or hurt to anyone', he succeeded in obtaining the withdrawal of the obnoxious clause.

Having secured this grant, and a general *farmān* from the Emperor himself 'for our reception and continuation in his domynyons', Roe towards the end of September took his leave of Jahāngīr and retired to Surat, there to spend in comparative comfort the four months yet to elapse before the ship intended for England would be ready. Of the events of that period we know little; but it is obvious that they included renewed difficulties with the native authorities, appeased to some extent by the presents brought by a new fleet under Captain Robert Bonner, which arrived at Swally (the port of Surat) in September, 1618. Evidently, too, there were bickerings with Kerridge and his fellow factors; and it must have been with no small sense of relief that on February 17, 1619, Roe hoisted his flag in the *Royal Anne* and sailed for England, after an absence of four years.

Roe's embassy has always been regarded—and rightly so—as a landmark in the history of English relations with India. Of tangible results, it is true, he had little to show. The factors at Surat wrote to the Company in most depreciatory terms of the results of his efforts (pp. 59, 79), and he himself put in the forefront of his achievements the successful initiation of trade with the Red Sea, merely observing of the privileges obtained in India that they were 'as much in generall as he could expect or desire'. But a diplomatist's usefulness, especially in dealing with an Oriental state, can seldom be measured by conventions concluded or concessions obtained; and if Roe had done no more than raise the prestige of his country and show the Mogul court that the English were not all obsequious merchants or rough sailors, his mission would have

been amply justified. However, he had effected much more than this. At the time of his arrival, the English factors were, as he said, 'in a desperate case'—threatened by the Portuguese, plundered by the local officials, and in imminent danger of expulsion; in fact, only the dread of the guns of the fleet and fears of retaliation upon native traders had caused the Mogul authorities to hesitate in taking vigorous measures towards that end. The coming of the ambassador stayed all this. His energetic demands for justice procured the recall of the Governor of Surat (albeit a favourite of Prince Khurram) and instilled into his successors a wholesome dread of offending the foreign merchants who had so powerful a friend at head quarters. The favour Roe found in the sight of Jahāngīr made him, in the language of Chaplain Terry, 'a Joseph in the court of Pharaoh, for whose sake all his nation there seemed to fare the better'; and even Prince Shāh Jahān, the future Emperor, irritated though he was by the boldness with which the Englishman thwarted and even defied him at times, could not refuse a meed of admiration to the gallant and unselfish envoy who carried out at all risks the duty which had been entrusted to him by his sovereign. By drawing over to his side the Empress's brother, Āsaf Khān, Roe secured for his countrymen a powerful friend both in the present and the future; and the good relations he established with other members of the Court, such as Muqarrab Khān (of whom we shall hear later), were likewise to prove of signal service. In short, if after his departure Englishmen found in India (again in the words of Terry) 'a free trade, a peaceable residence, and a very good esteem with that king and people', it was due very largely to the character and ability of the young courtier who had been selected to represent King James in the realms of the Great Mogul.

The departure of Roe left Kerridge in full control of the factories in India, with the exception of those on the Coromandel Coast, which had always been under the direction of Bantam; and before long we find the practice established of giving him the title of President, and of referring to the merchants associated with him as the Council. The appearance of designations which were destined to become historic is of sufficient interest to warrant a brief excursus, premising, however, that in the absence of the Company's letters to their factors in India something must be left to conjecture. At the

commencement of English trade in the East the various factories enjoyed a large measure of independence (though a certain primacy was always conceded to Bantam), and the title of Agent was used by the head of each of the more important centres. As the Company's operations widened, however, and the need of systematic supervision was felt, a change was determined upon. The details were left to the discretion of Captain Keeling, but the Company suggested that four groups should be formed, with centres at Surat, Bantam, Patani, and some place on the Coromandel Coast, the heads of these to be called Agents, Directors, Consuls, or any other title that might be deemed appropriate. The instructions were never carried out. Keeling contented himself with establishing Surat as the head factory for the Mogul's dominions (February, 1616) and left all the remaining settlements under the chief at Bantam; while no special title was decided upon in either case. Before long, however, the desire to place their Agent on a level with the Dutch President led the factors at the latter place to give him colloquially the same designation, and Bartholomew Churchman told the Company in 1621 that his refusal to address George Ball (Agent in 1617–18) by the higher title had been warmly resented by the latter. In 1618, when dispatching Jourdain to take command at Bantam, the Company at home adopted the practice, though without making any definite pronouncement on the subject, and henceforward the English chief at Bantam was always referred to as the President. At the same time a letter was dispatched to Surat, giving instructions as to 'the course . . . con[sidered] necessary for the goverment of . . . business [in] India' (p. 58). Whether this authorized Kerridge to assume the title of President is unknown, for the letter is not extant; but in any case there would be a tendency to use this designation at Surat, if only to mark its independence of Bantam; and on Roe's departure, leaving the chief authority in the hands of Kerridge and his council, the term would naturally come into use. The first instance of its employment in the present volume is by Methwold under date of December 7, 1619 (p. 153).[1]

[1] It may be noted that Roe had already in August, 1618, referred to the English 'President' at Surat (p. 39); but in this case he seems to be using the term in a general sense, and not as a title. Similarly there is a vague reference made on p. 60 to 'Thomas Kerridge his precedensy'.

We now revert to our narrative. Bonner's fleet left Surat at the same time as Roe. The *Dragon* and *Expedition*, under the command of Bonner himself, were bound for Achin and Bantam, and so pass out of the sphere to which our attention is for the present confined, though reference should, perhaps, be made to Hoare's interesting account (p. 68) of the visits they paid on their way to Dābhol, Bhatkal, and Ponānī, and their negotiations at the last-named place with the Samorin of Calicut. But the destination of the third ship—the *Lion*—was the port of Mokha in the Red Sea, and the venture in which she was engaged had so important a bearing on the fortunes of the English trade in Gujarāt that we must for a moment or two look back to the circumstances in which it originated.

The attempt made in 1618 to revive the trade with Mokha, which had been abandoned in consequence of the treatment received by Sir Henry Middleton at that port in 1610–11, was almost entirely the work of Roe, who had for some time viewed with concern the conditions of the Company's commerce. To his mind there was grave cause for apprehension in the fact that, to all appearance, English goods were never likely to be in sufficient demand in India to produce return cargoes without the aid of a considerable amount of silver brought from home—a drain of treasure which he, sharing the prejudices of his time, regarded as highly detrimental to the commonwealth. As a partial remedy, he advocated the establishment of a branch trade between Surat and the Red Sea, where spices from Bantam, and assortments of English and Indian goods, might be sold at very profitable rates to the merchants from Egypt who frequented the pilgrim ports, and who mostly paid for their purchases in specie. For a time the treacherous behaviour of the Turkish authorities towards Middleton, and the resentment the latter was supposed to have aroused by the retaliatory measures he adopted, had discouraged further experiments in that direction. When, however, the Dutch under Van den Broecke made a successful voyage to Mokha in 1615–16, the danger of any repetition of that outrage was shown to be non-existent, and Roe became urgent in his recommendation of the project. 'My councell is,' he wrote to the Company in November, 1616, 'that one of your smallest shipes, with the fittest English

goodes and such other as this country yeildes, yearly goe in company of the Guzerattes and trade for themselves for mony, which is taken in abundance; and returne in September with them, to supply this place. The profitt exceedes all the trades of Indya and will drive this alone' (*Embassy*, p. 348). And there was a further consideration which appealed with special force to the ambassador, baffled as he was by the indifference of the Mogul court to the demands he was pressing upon them. It would give the English a most useful hold on the Surat traders and officials, and through them on the central authorities. If, as Roe was sanguine enough to hope, the native merchants welcomed English co-operation and the protection it afforded them against the depredations of other Europeans, not only would his fellow countrymen gain the benefit of the new commerce, but they would draw at least some revenue from the work of convoying the junks to and fro. Considering that the trade was said to be 'for two millions yearely' (*Embassy*, p. 524), and that a Portuguese pass for one vessel is stated to have cost over 3,000*l*. (p. 81), surely the grateful owners, relieved from this tax, would consent to contribute handsomely towards the expenses incurred by their protectors. If on the other hand they should oppose English participation in the Red Sea traffic, or if either the local authorities or the Court officials denied the English justice in other ways, nothing would be easier than to prevent their ships from sailing, or to seize them on their return and hold them as hostages until all grievances were redressed. Such a course could scarcely fail to bring local offenders to their senses and at the same time attract the notice of the Court, for some of the highest in the land were concerned in these ventures. Jahāngīr and his advisers would realize that the English were indeed, as they claimed to be, 'Lords of the Seas', and would then listen with due respect to the claim of the despised foreigners to a free market and fair treatment for themselves and their goods.

To these arguments the factors at Surat listened but coldly, though later on they became determined promoters of the new trade. That the prospect for English goods in India was so gloomy as Roe had depicted they denied; while his objections to the importation of silver they met with arguments afterwards made

familiar by Mun in his *Discourse of Trade* (1621).[1] It was all very well to talk of seizing the native junks, but what was there to prevent the Mogul from retaliating on the persons and goods of the English, especially in the up-country factories? Moreover, they knew how bitter was the feeling amongst the Gujarātīs against the new-comers, who had already encroached so seriously upon their commerce. 'The merchants of this place,' they wrote, 'are alsoe undone by our trade to the southwards [i. e. Achin, Bantam, &c.], which hath taken (as wee may terme itt) the meate out of their mouthes and overthrowne their trade that way. . . . Since our coming, this porte is undone, which in their greefs they spare not somtymes to tell us' (*Embassy*, p. 166). The Red Sea traffic, which had always been a specialty of the Surat traders, was now the only commerce of importance left to them, and if that was to be taken away they would indeed be in sorry straits.

However, Roe had determined that the attempt should be made, and the factors had no option but to acquiesce. Accordingly, in March, 1618, the *Anne*, with Andrew Shilling as commander and William Baffin as one of the mates, sailed for Mokha in company with a Surat junk. Three factors went in her; and, in order that the new venture should have a fair trial, Roe took care that one of these should be his own secretary, Edward Heynes. The chief merchant he left to be nominated by Kerridge, and Joseph Salbank, an old and experienced servant of the Company, who had had some painful experiences of travel in Arabia, was chosen for the post. The vessel reached her destination without difficulty, and the Englishmen on board were received by the local governor with every appearance of courtesy and good feeling. Finding it necessary to obtain the sanction of the Pasha of the province, Salbank journeyed to Sana and procured from that functionary a *farmān* permitting the English to trade freely within his jurisdiction. With this and a complimentary letter from the Governor of Mokha to Sir Thomas Roe, inviting a repetition of the voyage the following year, the ship returned in safety in September, 1618.[2] The goods the Surat factors had put on board had not been in much demand, being chiefly remains of cloth, &c., belonging to the first joint

[1] See the correspondence in *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 165.
[2] See the account, written by Heynes, in the first volume of *Purchas* (p. 622).

stock—'the refuse of India,' said Roe indignantly—but on the whole the result was declared to be sufficiently satisfactory to warrant a second venture. In February, 1619, therefore, as already mentioned, the *Lion* was dispatched to the Red Sea, with Salbank again as chief factor. 'This trade,' the ambassador told the Company on reaching home, 'in tyme may be enlarged by the English, as other comodityes may be gotten from sundry other places of the Indies, and wilbe the life of the Surat and Persia trade, to supply both those places with monye;' and he conjured them 'to preserve and contynue it, notwithstanding any discouragment that may be objected by the factors at Surat, who are unwilling to have that trade prosper' (*Embassy*, p. 524).

But it was soon apparent that Roe had underrated the opposition of the Surat merchants to the new venture—an opposition in which they could rely upon the backing of the local officials, who were mostly drawn from the trading classes and had a direct interest in thwarting the commerce of the English. Already, when collecting calicoes for the *Lion's* cargo, the ambassador had met with considerable obstruction; and when, in the spring of 1619, the factors commenced their investments for the fleet expected in the autumn, a general boycott was organized, and they were plainly told that unless they would undertake to abandon the Red Sea traffic, they should not buy a yard of calico for that purpose; while their purchases for export to Bantam or to England were to be confined to Broach. They had now no ambassador to invoke the assistance of his friends at Court, and their ships were far away; so, much against their wills, Kerridge and his colleagues were forced to promise that they would make no investments for Mokha. Even then they were restricted almost entirely to Broach, and an attempt they made to open up an independent source of supply at Baroda was foiled by pressure brought to bear upon the Governor of that city. To their remonstrances against the latter restriction, Is-hāq Beg, the Governor of Surat, replied that 'he neather durst nor would be the broacher of a new custome, heareby to incure the generall exclamacions of all the people; and therefore wisht us contente ourselves with our woonted lymitts, as beeinge a sufficient encroach allready, to there generall damage'. As a matter of fact, the great popularity of calicoes in England had led to large increases in the

Company's demands, and, the supply in Gujarāt being limited, the English had in 1618 swept the markets bare, with the result that the officials responsible for lading the Prince's junk for the Red Sea had been forced to fill her with tobacco (p. 92); and they were determined that there should be no repetition of this. In vain did Biddulph at Agra press the Prince to grant what his officers had refused. The principal men of Surat had already petitioned him 'not to graunt us that trade, for yf hee did they were all undon and the cittye begered, havinge noe other place to trade unto but the Red Sea, which they were contented with, leavinge the southwards and other places for the English'; and Biddulph, who notes with naïve surprise that he found 'the Prince and all generallye tendringe theire owne peoples goods and complaynts before our shutes and benifitts', received 'an absolut denyall to that trade, the Prince wishinge mee to trouble him noe more with that busynes' (p. 175).

Other grievances had by this time been added to the factors' list. A caravan from Agra was despoiled of several packs of indigo and some of the guards slain, owing, it would seem, to the young Englishman in charge foolishly refusing to pay the usual toll at one place on the route. This was a comparatively small matter, which after the usual delay seemed to have been settled by the issue of orders for compensation, though as a matter of fact the money was still unpaid at the end of 1623. A little later a second caravan from the same place was stopped at Chopra under somewhat singular circumstances. A year or so before, a Portuguese merchant named Francisco Soares had left some china with Nicholas Bangham at Burhānpur for sale on his account. When he departed for England, Bangham handed over the balance to a fellow-factor named Sprage, who disposed of most of the goods and spent the proceeds. Soares now unexpectedly reappeared and, finding that Sprage was unable to account for the goods, seized him and demanded justice from the *Khānkhānān* (see note on p. 59) at Burhānpur. It being obviously impossible to extract the money from Sprage, Soares claimed to be compensated from the property of the English Company, of whom both Bangham and Sprage were servants; and the *Khānkhānān*, taking the view that at least a *prima facie* case had been made out, ordered the caravan to be detained pending further investigation. The Surat factors

indignantly repudiated liability for private debts, and Biddulph, who happened to be near Burhānpur on his way back to Court when the news of the arrest came, pressed the same view on the *Khānkhānān*. But the latter was obdurate. On behalf of Soares several Armenians testified that in Turkey a Christian Consul was held responsible for the defaults of his fellow-countrymen; and though the Surat factors on the other hand sent up Giles James with a certificate from the Dutch at Surat contradicting this, the utmost that could be obtained was that the goods should be laid up at Chopra until the matter had been referred to the Court. The English were of course extremely angry at this decision, and hinted that the *Khānkhānān* and his officers had been bribed; but it seems clear that he really took pains to understand the case and (as he told Biddulph) to do justice 'for Gods sake' (p. 172). However, the matter had now passed beyond his jurisdiction, and the factors had to put their plea before the Prince. This entailed both delay and expense, but in the end two successive *farmāns* were obtained for the release of the goods; and thus the matter was satisfactorily settled.

In the meantime, there had been much friction regarding the house which served as the English factory at Surat. At the end of May or beginning of June, 1619, the Company's servants were compelled to quit the substantial and roomy dwelling which they had occupied during the past three years. Several attempts had been previously made to oust them, as the local officials (who could not rid themselves of the idea that the English intended some day to seize Surat, or at least the castle, and make it a second Goa) were uneasy both on account of the strength of the building and its proximity to the castle and the principal mosque; but these had with Roe's help been successfully resisted. Now, however, the three years' lease had run out, and its renewal was prevented; so the factors had no option but to remove. The first house they pitched upon was bought up in a panic by the 'divelish Castle Captain . . . sayinge wee should bee to neare him' (p. 101); and at last they were forced to take up their abode in three separate dwellings at some distance from one another, besides having to hire three other houses for warehouses and a set of stables. So indignant were the factors at this and other grievances, that by the

middle of August they had almost determined to seize the Prince's junk on its arrival from the Red Sea and thus force a satisfactory settlement. The up-country factors, who were most likely to be affected by any retaliatory measures that might be taken, had been consulted, with the result that the Agra merchants approved, but those at Ahmadābād advised delay until the receipt of the Company's reply to the suggestions already made to them on this score. However, at this juncture letters arrived from Masulipatam announcing the outbreak of hostilities in the Far East between the English and Dutch, with the consequent retirement of Dale's and Pring's fleets to the Coromandel Coast, and urging that the ships from England should be sent to meet them at Priaman as speedily as possible. With Bantam and other settlements evacuated or in jeopardy, it was no time to hazard the trade of India as well, and the idea of forcing a settlement in this daring fashion was therefore abandoned—'to our longer sufferance in some, and such remedy in others as private giftes may induce' (p. 115). After all, had they come to another decision, the result would have been much the same, for the junks both of Surat and Goghā missed their monsoon and did not return until the following year.

The arrival, early in October, 1619, of a new fleet from England under John Bickley, and the return shortly after of the *Lion* from Mokha, raised afresh the question of the Red Sea traffic. The voyage of the *Lion* had been very successful, the Indian commodities she carried having realized a hundred per cent.; and naturally this made the factors eager to repeat the venture. Her returns were mostly in gold, and therefore did not interfere with the local markets; but curiously enough the fleet from England supplied the aggravation that was wanting. Red coral from the Mediterranean and Red Sea was a favourite object of import in that trade, being in much demand for necklaces (as at the present day), and also, the factors tell us, 'much spent to burne with the dead' (p. 259). Noticing this, the Surat factors had encouraged the Company to send a supply by Pring's fleet in 1617. To the native mind this innovation was a gratuitous interference with their trade, and strong representations were made to the factory against any further importations. 'The merchants of Surratt,' the factors told the Company in February, 1619 (p. 54), 'will not suffer it to be

brought into Surratt but by strong hand.' Nevertheless, the cargo on board Bickley's fleet was found to comprise a considerable quantity of coral; and on the English attempting to land it, the native merchants were at once 'all in an uproare, withstandinge your bringinge of that comoditie' (p. 137). After four days' dispute, the coral was warehoused at Rānder pending a reference to Court. Kerridge and his fellow-factors at once prepared a petition to the Prince setting forth their grievances in regard to the coral, the denial of trade to the Red Sea, and the continued refusal to find them a suitable dwelling. This document reached Biddulph 'uppon travell', for Jahāngīr and Prince Shāh Jahān, after a stay of seven months at Agra—to the benefit of the factors there, whose broadcloth and other goods were once more in demand—had, early in October, 1619, started for Lahore, on their way to Kashmīr; and Biddulph with two other Englishmen had followed in attendance, chiefly with a view to the recovery of certain debts.[1] It was no easy matter to get an audience during the progress, especially with reference to a distasteful subject; and when Biddulph at last managed to present his petition, he found that fresh representations had been made from Surat against any concession to the English and that the Prince was in no humour to reverse his previous decision. 'He absolutlye tould mee wee should not trade to the Red Sea . . . nor bringe anye corrall into these partes to sell; and yf [we] could not be contented to have free trade for all but Mocha, wee might goe out of the countrye yf wee would, for [he] must not begger his people for us; but yf [we] would have his firmaen for a house and free trade in all other places, with good usage, we should have one.' Biddulph answered in surly fashion that 'if [we] had not free trade to buy and sell in all places, as costome of merchants were, wee needed not neither house nor firmaen'; whereupon the Prince 'bid us trouble him noe more with that

[1] The largest of these—an amount of 30,000 rupees owing for some cloth sold to a native merchant—gave Biddulph considerable anxiety. The debtor himself was in prison for a debt to the King, and the English were forced to be satisfied for the present with seizing the person of his surety, who was handed over to them by order of Jahāngīr. As his only means of payment lay in some debts and property at Lahore, Biddulph thought it best to take his prisoner with him, and this, as he ruefully says (p. 173), 'breeds my noe smale care and trouble leste hee should escape my hands'. In the end, after considerable delay, a compromise was reached which was satisfactory to both sides.

busynes' (p. 176). The pertinacious Englishman, however, was not so easily silenced. Enlisting the powerful aid of Āsaf Khān (who, since Roe's astute bargain with him over a great pearl (p. 9), had been consistently the friend of the English), he after the lapse of a few days again broached the topic of his countrymen's wrongs. Shāh Jahān 'seemed verye much displeased' at his persistency, and repeated his refusal with emphasis; but, on Āsaf Khān interceding, at last 'hee graunted his firmaen for sale of our corrall in Suratt or elcewhere for this yeare, and for our old house in Surat, which they were turned out of, or another to theire contents; with comaund of present dispatch of our goods out of the costome house, both inwards and outwards, and to use our people kindlye. For the Mocha trade, hee would not here of itt' (p. 177).

This *farmān* was delivered a few days before Christmas, and forwarded by Biddulph to Surat. It satisfactorily settled the disposal of the coral; but was either ignored or evaded in the matter of the English house. Curiously enough, the division of the factory staff into three separate fractions had just caused an incident of a serious character, though in this case the fault lay entirely with our fellow-countrymen. In the middle of November, some of the younger merchants, having been one night to sup with their comrades lately returned from Mokha, came back 'att [an] unlawfull houre' escorted by their hosts. Probably they had all been drinking freely and were correspondingly noisy. The police, represented by the Governor's *peons*, interfered; swords flashed out; and a skirmish ensued which ended in the revellers being driven into one of the English warehouses. Shots were fired into their place of refuge, and some of their number were hit; whereupon they replied with birdshot, wounding one of their assailants rather badly. A rumour quickly spread that the English had killed a man who was simply doing his duty; and Is-hāq Beg, the Governor, who had always had a grudge against them, summoned Kerridge to answer for the misdeed. The latter refused to come without a pledge of personal safety, alleging that, in view of the excitement prevailing, his life would be in danger. Thereupon an interdict was laid upon the English factory, all business dealings prohibited, and the supply of water and food stopped. Rendered desperate at the latter deprivation, the merchants vowed that they would cut

their way out sword in hand. This alarmed the captain of the castle, who feared retaliation by the fleet on its return from Persia; and by his mediation an interview took place between Kerridge and Is-hāq Beg. It proved unsatisfactory, for the latter loaded the Englishman with filthy abuse, and got in reply some very candid remarks on his character and behaviour. However, the popular excitement being over, the persecution appears to have been relaxed; and before long the coming of a new Governor, Jamshed Beg, put matters once more on the old footing.

While the factors at Surat, stung by these humiliations, were anxious either to mend or end matters by forcibly seizing the native shipping, and were pressing this view on their masters at home, the latter were counting with much satisfaction the gains they were deriving from the trade. At meetings held on the 2nd and 9th of November, 1619, the position and prospects of the trade were fully discussed. Thomas Mun—the future author of *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade*—submitted a calculation showing that the stock of money and goods sent to Surat in five ships had produced a net return (after allowing for all expenses at home and in India, including Roe's embassy) of 260,860*l.* Deducting 50,000*l.* for the delay caused to the other ships in company (who thus lost time in their voyage to Bantam, &c.) and 39,526*l.* for the cost of the goods and rials carried out, there remained a net profit of 171,334*l.* This, as Mun put it, 'advaunceth the riall [of eight, taken at 4*s.* 6*d.*] unto 19*s.* 5¾*d.*,' and he held that 'it will contynue a trade to make 20*s.* uppon the riall'. Alderman Hammersley, on the other hand, estimated the net proceeds at 200,000*l.*, and the gain at 120 per cent., apparently reckoning it not merely on the 39,526*l.* 'quick stock' but also on the 50,000*l.* 'dead stock'. But whatever the exact figures might be, it was evident enough that, as Mun said, 'the trade with his charge is a good and profitable trade'; and the Committees in general assented to the view that although the expenses had been high, 'yet no place proveth so good, so sure, nor any trade so profitable; and by the abbundance and vent of callicoes[1] is in faire possibilitie to prove more and more profitable.'

[1] Indian calicoes had been at once taken into favour in England, as being much cheaper than linens imported from the Continent. A few years later the Company declared that 'instead of paying 500,000*l.* annually to Holland and France for linens, lawns and

The letters carried by Bickley's fleet to Surat in the autumn of 1619 had ordered a largely increased supply of these cotton piece-goods, 'and theire provisiones to bee made in such places as give best hopes, as well for attayninge quantitye as also for theire procuringe to best advantage for price, condition, &c.' (p. 212). These directions, coupled with the manifest impossibility of obtaining sufficient quantities in Gujarāt, caused the Surat Council to scrutinize carefully all possible alternative sources of supply. They would naturally turn their attention in the first instance to Agra, where, besides the indigo of the neighbouring districts, considerable quantities of carpets and cotton cloth were yearly purchased. Much of the latter consisted of a fine cloth known to them by the half-Portuguese name of 'semiano'. Biddulph had reported that it was made in a town called Samāna[1] at some distance from Agra, and that the native merchants who sold it had told him that 'in theire towne . . . wee maye buye them rawe, and white them as wee doe at Boroch, or readye whited, as wee please, takinge our choyce of the sorts, and that in great quantityes, alwayes provided two merchants remayne there the yeare about, to make theire provisions' (p. 168); and it was agreed that a couple of factors might well be dispatched by way of Agra to Samāna and Lahore —the principal entrepôt for the carpets so much in vogue in Europe[2] —to settle a factory in one or other of those places, Samāna for choice (see p. 181), if a short experience should show that such

cambrics, half the consumption of those articles is now superseded by the use of India calicoes' (Macpherson's *European Commerce with India*, p. 109).

[1] In some notes made by Nicholas Ufflet about 1614, after dealing with Lahore and Sirhind he goes on to mention 'Semiana' as 'a cittie whear your semianoe callico be made and other clothinge, 20 or 30 choses [*kos*] from Lahore' (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. xxv). This and further evidence in some later correspondence point unmistakably to Samāna, a town of 11,000 inhabitants in Patiāla State, about sixteen miles south-west of the capital. Lieut.-Col. Dunlop-Smith, C.I.E., late Political Resident at Patiāla, who has been kind enough to make inquiries on the subject, states that in Samāna (which was the capital of an important province until the Emperor Firoz Shāh Tughlak transferred the head quarters to Sirhind) there is still a *mohalla* or ward called Nurpura, inhabited chiefly by *Julāhas* (weavers), who possess *farmāns* from the Mogul Emperors exempting them from all taxes on their trade. He also refers to *Farhang Anjuman Ārāi Nāsrī*, in which *samān* is described as a thin soft cloth of a yellowish colour—the modern *doria*.

[2] It need scarcely be said that these carpets were used mainly as table-covers. Those who have seen the collections at Amsterdam and the Hague will have noticed how fond the Dutch painters of the time were of introducing their quaint patterns and rich colours.

a course would be advisable. Further, as the 'amberty' calicoes recently procured at Agra from Behar traders were looked upon with favour, it was decided that two merchants should be sent to Patna, the capital of Behar, to purchase an assortment, and at the same time to see whether they could secure Bengal silk on advantageous terms. The expedition to the northwards was entrusted to Robert Young, who quitted Surat with a caravan of goods in the spring of 1620 and travelled by way of Ahmadābād and Agra to his new post. Beyond the fact that, after much delay at Ahmadābād, he reached Lahore, invested his money and forwarded the proceeds to Agra under the charge of John Bangham, we know practically nothing about his proceedings. Apparently he remained at Lahore, for in March, 1621, the Surat Council decided to 'experyence annother yeare' there or at Samāna, whichever Young might regard as the more suitable (p. 234). We find him at Samāna early in August, 1621, but he then wrote (p. 257) that he should be leaving in the following month and that he considered a permanent factory there unnecessary, as the calicoes could be bought as cheaply at Agra, charges considered; and later on in the year the Surat Council announced to the Company that they had dissolved the factory at Lahore 'and reduced it to Agra, where semianoes are to be procured and Lahor indico as easily as at Lahor, with farr less expence' (p. 326). At this very time, however, the Agra factors were writing to Surat that, learning from Young and his fellow-factor Willoughby that the calicoes of those parts could be bought cheaper at Samāna by five or ten per cent. than they could be got at Agra, charges considered, they were sending them again to those parts with a supply of money; and a little later we hear that the factors have actually started.

As regards the history of the Patna attempt, matters are fortunately on a different footing. The letter-book kept by the two merchants employed has survived (*Factory Records*, *Patna*, vol. i), and from its pages we glean many interesting particulars of their experiences. The task of establishing the new factory had been entrusted to Robert Hughes, who was at this time second at Agra, and John Bangham had been dispatched from Surat to act as his assistant in his new post. Bangham, however, was detained on the way, and in June, 1620, Hughes, fearing to lose the season for

investment, determined to start alone, taking no merchandise, but merely some bills of exchange to the value of Rs. 4,000. After being nearly a month on the road, he reached his destination on July 3, and found himself warmly welcomed by the Governor of the province, Muqarrab Khān, who had previously had much to do with the English, both in Gujarāt and at Court. With his assistance a house was secured in the principal part of the city; and upon the arrival in September of John Parker (who had been sent in place of Bangham, diverted to Lahore) with a quantity of English merchandise, a start was made with the business of providing suitable investments for Europe. To the south of Patna lay a large cotton-weaving district, centring at Lukhawur, from which (as the factors reported) ten or fifteen thousand pieces of an excellent kind of calico might easily be procured (p. 213). Raw silk, brought in the cocoon from Bengal, was to be had in large quantities in Patna itself, and Hughes promptly purchased a stock and set a staff of workmen to reel it off into suitable skeins. Samples of these, with some bales of calico and other goods, were dispatched to Agra at the end of November, together with a sanguine account of the prospects of the trade.

A longer experience, however, materially abated the merchants' hopes, especially when a somewhat discouraging report on the goods already sent arrived from Agra. The silk was found to have been unskilfully wound; and although the raw material could no doubt be procured at a cheaper rate at Patna than at Agra, yet when the charges of transport and the cost of the factory were added the result was unfavourable.[1] The only remedy Hughes and his colleague could suggest was to send to Maksūdābād (the present Murshidābād), where 'it maye be provided in infinite quantityes at least 20 per cent. cheaper then in anye other place of India, and of the choysest stufe, wound of into what condition you shall requier it, as it comes from the worme; where are also innumerable of silk wynderes, experte workmen, and labour cheaper by a third then elcewhere' (p. 230). That the calicoes of Patna

[1] This bore out Roe's contention, when discussing some years before the advisability of opening up trade in this direction: 'the silke of Bengala . . . in my opinion is had cheeper at Agra then you will fynd it there, to maynteyne a factory for yt, beeing this people travell and live hardlyer then yours can' (Letter to the Company, Dec. 1, 1616).

were cheap and of excellent quality could not be denied; but it was doubtful whether it would not be better on the whole to buy them at higher rates at Agra than to maintain a factory for such commodities alone. In March, 1621, the factors sustained a double misfortune. The city was devastated by a fire, which laid the greater part in ruins and cost upwards of 300 lives. The factors managed to save themselves, and the greater part of their goods; but the house they had occupied was burnt to the ground (p. 246). Secondly, Muqarrab Khān, who was both a liberal purchaser and a good paymaster, was ordered to Agra, and Prince Parwīz, Jahāngīr's second son, was appointed Governor in his stead. He reached the city at the end of May or early in June, and at once proceeded to turn out many of the principal inhabitants from their houses, which he 'liberalye bestowed' on his numerous retinue. Amongst others the English suffered a second eviction, and at the beginning of June they wrote that they had been 'theise ten dayes wandringe to cover ourselves and goods, thoughe but with grase, to debar the heate and raynes, now in excesse' (p. 256). It is scarcely a matter of surprise that in these circumstances their enthusiasm cooled rapidly, and we may well believe that the decision of the Surat Council to close the factory was by no means unwelcome. This resolution seems to have been due partly to the death of Fettiplace, and the consequent promotion of Hughes to the charge of the Agra establishment, and partly to an intimation from the home authorities that 3,000 or 4,000 pieces of 'amberty' cloth yearly would meet all their requirements, and that 'Bengala silk' was not to be sent home in future. After a time, however, the President and Council changed their minds and followed up their first order by a second, directing Hughes to proceed alone to Agra and Parker to remain at Patna until the arrival of another factor to take over charge. But the two merchants had acted so promptly upon the former instructions that the accounts had been closed and their capital converted into goods, for the carriage of which arrangements had already been made. They ventured therefore to disregard the later directions; Hughes started for Agra on September 13, 1621, and Parker followed a few weeks after. Thus ended the first attempt of the English to establish a factory at Patna.[1]

[1] Twelve years later, by a strange blunder on the part of the Surat authorities, who

Persia is, strictly speaking, beyond the scope of the present work, and indeed the numerous documents available relating to the early history of the factories in that country require a volume to themselves. As, however, the Persian 'venture' was planned and directed from Surat and its early history is so intimately connected with the general hostilities between the Portuguese and the English, it is necessary to sketch briefly the course of events in that region during the four years with which we are here concerned.

The story of the dispatch in 1616 of a small band of factors under Edward Connock to procure privileges from Shāh Abbās and establish a trade in his dominions has been told in the introductions to the last three volumes of the *Letters received.* The mission was on the whole a success. The Shāh was quite willing to establish relations with the rivals of the Portuguese, whose island fortress of Ormus practically controlled his southern seaboard; and he was delighted with the picture drawn by the sanguine Connock of the benefits to be derived from diverting the trade with Europe in Persian silk (largely a royal monopoly) from its overland channel through the dominions of his hereditary enemies the Turks to a sea route in the vessels of his new friends. He granted willingly all, or nearly all, the articles demanded by the English, and offered to supply them at once with 3,000 bales of silk on credit, 'to give life to our trades beginning.' Connock had already written to Bantam for a large supply of spices and to Surat for a quantity of Indian goods and the greater part of whatever might arrive from England; and it was with the liveliest hopes that he went down to Jask in the autumn of 1617 to meet the fleet he expected to bring him the merchandise and money he had demanded. But in this he was destined to be disappointed. The letters from the Company which reached Surat by the fleet of that year gave, it was true, a cautious approval of the Persian venture, of the result of which the Committees were of course ignorant; but they laid down restrictions and made stipulations which showed their hesitation to embark with any heartiness

wrote 'Patna' when they really meant 'Samāna', Peter Mundy was dispatched from Agra on a similar errand. In his journal—an edition of which is promised by the Hakluyt Society—he mentions the earlier venture; but both Hughes and Parker were dead, and so little was remembered of their experiences that he states that they 'in fewe daies returned back againe to Agra'. Mundy himself quickly came to the conclusion that a permanent factory was undesirable, and he left after a very short stay.

in that trade until they had further information. Moreover, Connock's letter, written from Ispahān in May, 1617, and sent overland, had not yet reached Surat, and consequently neither Roe nor the factors knew what had been the outcome of his mission. In these circumstances, it was decided merely to dispatch a small vessel, the *Bee*, to Jask, under the charge of Edward Monnox and another factor, in order to communicate the Company's instructions, with Roe's directions based thereon, and to bring back news and any goods that might be ready.

The ship reached its destination on December 6, 1617, and found Connock awaiting its arrival. He was already in bad health, and the discovery that the *Bee* had brought neither money nor cargo, that the entire control of the negotiations had been placed by King James in the hands of Roe (who had disapproved of the venture from the start), and that the Company required, as a condition precedent to any real trade, a formal contract with the Shāh for the price of silk (which would necessitate a fresh journey to Court), proved a fatal blow. After an illness of ten days, he died on Christmas Eve at a little village not far from Jask; and the direction of affairs fell into the hands of his insubordinate second, Thomas Barker, who was then at Ispahān.

Barker had neither the ability nor the energy of his predecessor; and the impression he made on the Persian monarch appears to have been an unfavourable one. To an application for the grant of further concessions, in the sense of the conditions laid down by the Company, the Shāh returned an uncompromising refusal; he was ready to abide by what he had promised Connock, and he would agree to purchase all the goods the English might bring, but he would not bind himself to a fixed price for his silk; they must give the market value. For the present, however, the factors had neither goods to sell nor money with which to buy, and their position was one of anxious suspense. Fortunately, in November, 1618, the *Expedition* arrived at Jask from Surat with a considerable cargo, and two Portuguese prizes of some value which she had picked up on the way. The factors put on board about seventy bales of silk, and with these, the first-fruits of the Persian trade, she returned to Surat in January, 1619, in time to send them home with Roe in the *Royal Anne*.

Meanwhile the steps which the English were taking to establish themselves in Persia had aroused the Portuguese, to whom the possession of Ormus was of the utmost importance, and who had already been alarmed by the threatening activity of the Persians on the neighbouring mainland. In February, 1618, King Philip wrote to his Viceroy at Goa, urging him to put in order the Ormus fortifications, and was assured in reply that the necessary steps had been taken to ensure this. In the spring of the following year five ships were dispatched from Lisbon under a brave and capable officer, Ruy Freire de Andrade, with orders to clear the Persian Gulf of foreign ships and then to proceed to the Red Sea to stop any native vessels that might be navigating those waters without Portuguese passes. They failed, however, to reach their station and were compelled to winter at Mozambique; further time was lost in stopping Indian ships bound for the Red Sea without Portuguese passes; and it was not until the middle of June, 1620, that Ruy Freire reached Ormus with four of his ships. The news of his departure from Lisbon had been at once transmitted by the East India Company to their servants at Surat; and on the arrival of Bickley's fleet in the autumn of 1619, with a large sum in rials to be forwarded (with some English and Indian commodities) to the Persian factors, it was decided to send his whole squadron, strengthened by the addition of the *Lion*, to carry the money thither. They sailed on November 7, 1619, and returned in the middle of the following January without molestation. The reports they brought back did not indicate any substantial progress. King James's letters had been presented to the Shāh in the previous June, in the presence of several foreign ambassadors, including Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa [1], the special envoy of the Spanish King. They were graciously received, and the Shāh vowed that he would keep faithfully the engagements he had contracted with the English. True, he said the same of his engagements with the Portuguese, and professed his intention of maintaining an attitude of neutrality; but this was evidently for the benefit of the Portuguese ambassador, and 'he would sometymes openly proclayme the valour of our nation, soe farre extolling us above the Portingalls that he would tell those forraigne ambassadors then present that we would,

[1] Of whom and his mission see p. xv of the Introduction to *Letters received*, vol. vi.

maugre all the Portingalls forces, have trade in his portes; and sometymes he would seacretly whisper unto us that he had a resolution to take Ormus from the Kinge of Spayne and deliver it unto the English nation, onely enjoyninge us to seacricie untill it were effected' (*O. C.* 815). A little later the outlook brightened still further. King Philip's envoy had his final audience and presented letters demanding, first, the restitution of Gombroon and other territories lately conquered by the Persians, which were claimed by the Portuguese on behalf of the titular King of Ormus, and, secondly, the exclusion of all other Europeans from the Persian trade. The enraged Shāh tore up the letters, and swore that so far from restoring what he had already taken he would drive the Portuguese from their fortress at Ormus; while he ordered a *farmān* to be made out, granting the sole trade in silks by the sea route to his new friends the English. This was Barker's last achievement, for he died at the end of November, 1619, leaving the management of affairs to Edward Monnox. The latter wrote to Surat in March, 1620, asking for more money and a supply of Indian commodities, and expressing a hope that he would be able to bring down 1,000 bales of silk to meet the next fleet at Jask.

However, at Surat the September and October of 1620 came and went without news of an English fleet, and it was not until November 9 that the familiar colours were seen entering Swally Roads. Even then it was only half a fleet, for its commander, Captain Andrew Shilling, told Kerridge on arrival that, in accordance with the Company's instructions, he had detached the *Hart* and *Eagle* a few days before with orders to proceed direct to Jask, while he himself with the *London* and *Roebuck* went into Swally. He was at once made acquainted with the danger that threatened any English ships venturing to Persia, owing to the presence of Ruy Freire's squadron in those waters; and it was decided that as soon as his ships could land part of their cargoes and take in some necessaries they should sail to the assistance of their consorts. Ten days later saw them at sea again; and on December 5 they met the *Hart* and *Eagle*, which had reached Jask, but, deeming it unsafe to remain there in view of the strength of the Portuguese squadron, had prudently returned to seek assistance. The reunited fleet now headed for Jask Roads, for Shilling was determined to fulfil his mission, even if he had to

try a bout with the redoubtable 'Pride of Portugall' (p. 228). They reached their destination on December 16, and found their opponents waiting to intercept them, but after a stiff skirmish, and an abortive attempt to destroy the Portuguese admiral by means of a fireship, the enemy withdrew, and the English anchored in the Roads and landed their money and goods. After repairing damages, Ruy Freire again made his appearance, but baffling winds for a time prevented Shilling from attacking him. On December 26, however, the English put to sea, followed by the Portuguese, and the two squadrons anchored within a short distance of each other. On the 28th, finding that there was no eagerness on the other side to commence, and 'the Lord sending us apprettie easterlie gale' (p. 223), the English bore down on the enemy. The breeze lasted only long enough to carry the *London* and *Hart* close to the Portuguese squadron, and then died away; with the result that those two ships 'indured the hotest burden of this second daies fight'. However, the English gunners had 'willing minds and readie resolutions', and they stood the brunt gallantly until their two consorts managed to come into action and redress the balance. By the afternoon the Portuguese, whose gunnery appears to have been particularly poor, had had so much the worse of the encounter that, 'unwilling after so hotte a dinner to receive the like supper,' they cut their cables and drifted with the tide out of range, greatly damaged. The victorious squadron followed as closely as they were able, but finding their store of ammunition almost expended, they deemed it prudent the next morning to go into Jask. On the English side only three men had been slain and five wounded, two of them mortally; but the latter included the gallant Shilling, who at the commencement of the action was struck by a cannon ball on the left shoulder, and after lingering 'verry godly and patient' until January 6, 1621, 'about noone he departed this life, shewing himselfe, as ever before a resolute commander, so now in his passage through the gates of death a most willing, humble, constant, and assured Christian.' Three days later he was interred on shore at Jask, and Captain Richard Blyth assumed command of the fleet. No further attempt to disturb them was made by the Portuguese, and on January 14, having taken in about 520 bales of Persian silk for transmission to England, they sailed

for Surat, which was reached at the beginning of the following month.

The most pressing business now on hand at Surat was the dispatch of a ship or ships to England. After much discussion it was settled that the *Hart* and *Roebuck* should be sent home with the Persian silk, the goods provided in Gujarāt, and those expected from Agra. The last-mentioned caused great anxiety, for war had broken out again between the Mogul and the allied Deccan kings, and the generalissimo of the latter, the celebrated Malik Ambar, had invaded Khāndesh, besieged Burhānpur, and pushed his light troops across the Tāptī. The English and Dutch caravans from Agra paused for a time in Māndū, hoping that the Mogul troops would appear on the scene and drive back the invaders; but Shāh Jahān, to whom the task had been entrusted, was slow to move, and the English were forced to choose between hazarding their goods or losing the chance of dispatching them to England that season. A safe-conduct obtained by Hutchinson from the leader of the Deccan forces seemed to offer a way out of this dilemma, and the caravan was ordered to resume its march. However, the Surat factors waited in vain for its appearance. The Deccan soldiery recked little of safe-conducts, and by the middle of March news reached the coast that the whole of the goods had been seized and ransacked. It was now too late to dispatch the half-laden ships, for the Company, warned by the difficulty the *Bull* had experienced in making a home port during the storms of winter, had given strict orders that none of their ships was to 'fall with the coast of England after the month of August' (p. 235). The Surat Council therefore determined that both the ships, together with the *London*, should proceed in company to the Red Sea to spend there the coming monsoon. Before doing so, however, a forcible settlement was made of fresh difficulties which had arisen with the local chiefs. The Surat River was blockaded and the junks about to sail for the Red Sea, including the Prince's own vessel, were held up until a formal undertaking was given that the English should be permitted (amongst other things) to land and sell their coral without molestation, and to send their rials where they pleased; while the Surat officials agreed also to supply them (upon payment) with the shot and powder they needed to replenish Blyth's squadron.

Kerridge would have added a demand for the concession of trade to the Red Sea; but the majority of the Council thought it undesirable to revive so thorny a question, and the President gave way. These demands having been conceded, on April 6, 1621, the *London*, *Hart*, and *Roebuck*, with a prize renamed the *Andrew*, set sail for the Red Sea. With them went President Kerridge. He had been nine years in India, during five of which the chief brunt of the administration had rested on his shoulders. It had been his intention to return to England this year, and although the detention of the homeward ships had frustrated his plans, he decided not to upset the arrangements already made by remaining at Surat. He accordingly handed over charge to Thomas Rastell, and embarked on board the *Hart*.

Detailed accounts of their voyage will be found in the text (p. 284). Two Portuguese vessels were captured and added to the fleet, but the bad sailing of one of these much hampered Blyth's ships, with the result that the monsoon was upon them before they could even reach Socotra. They then decided to stand northwards along the coast of Omān. In so doing, the *Hart* and *Roebuck* lost company and put into a bay on the island of Masīra; the rest got as far north as Sūr, after a skirmish at Taiwī with the natives, egged on by Portuguese emissaries from Muskat. From Sūr, having broken up one of their prizes and sold the rice captured in her, they moved to a harbour near Ras-al-hadd, christening their anchorage, in compliment to their flagship, 'The London's Hope.' Having been joined by the *Hart* and *Roebuck*, on August 15 Blyth sailed for the coast of India. It had been arranged before starting that they were to watch off Chaul and Dābhol, the chief ports of Ahmadnagar and Bījāpur respectively, for the junks returning from the Red Sea, with a view to obtaining redress for the seizure of the English caravan by the Deccan army. For more than a month the blockade was maintained, in spite of severe storms, and then they learned that their time had been wasted, for the Dutch, who had made a voyage to the Red Sea partly for that purpose, had already caught the intended prey.[1] Their only consolation was that on the way to Surat the *Andrew* (one of the

[1] It is amusing to note Captain Weddell's virtuous indignation at 'these theevish proceedings' (p. 302) on the part of the Hollanders.

converted prizes) took a junk of Chaul which promised to afford at least a partial compensation. Further, there was hope of composition in more peaceful fashion. Before this capture, Malik Ambar had offered to negotiate with any one the English might appoint, and Robert Jeffries, accompanied by Nicholas Crispe, had been landed at Chaul for the purpose. Of this most interesting embassy we have unfortunately but scanty particulars; but it appears that they started from Chaul about October 10 and, proceeding by way of Junnar and Daulatābād, reached Malik Ambar's camp towards the end of the month. But whatever the latter's intentions had been when he invited the embassy, the news that the English had helped themselves to his junk had aroused his anger, and he soon dismissed his visitors with the answer that 'hee would make noe restitution or satisfaction' (p. 318). Jeffries returned to Surat by land, arriving, it would seem, about the middle of November (p. 333). Finding there was no hope of procuring compensation by peaceable means, the Surat Council confiscated the Chaul vessel and decided that next year another Red Sea voyage should be undertaken, partly for the purpose of capturing the Chaul and Dābhol ships; further, they held up the Prince's junk on her return to Surat and took out of her 7,000 rials which were alleged to belong to passengers who were subjects of the Deccan kings. For this high-handed measure, they wrote to the Company, 'wee make accompt wee must beare manie oppositions'; and their words proved prophetic.

The problem next to be settled was how to convey safely to the Persian factors the goods and money the Company had sent for their use. Fortunately, there was now in Swally Roads the largest English fleet that had ever been seen in a Mogul port; for Captain John Weddell had arrived from England towards the end of September, 1621, with six ships and a Portuguese prize, and there were in addition Blyth's three English vessels and one or more prizes. News had come that Ruy Freire had been reinforced from Goa, and it was clearly impossible to send any but the strongest squadron that could be mustered. The *Hart* and *Roebuck* must needs be dispatched to England to make up for the previous year's shortcomings; but it was decided to send all the remaining ships to Jask. The fleet put to sea on November 25, Kerridge being on

board the *Hart*; and on the 27th (notes Richard Swan, the master of that vessel) 'wee tooke leave of the Jasques fleete, con[sisting of the] *London*, *Jonas*, *Whale*, *Dolphine*, *Lyon*, *Rose*, *Shilling*, *Richard*, and *R*[*obert*. At] Mr. Kerridge his intreatie to resalute his severall freinds, shott four [pieces]'. We can imagine Kerridge watching the disappearing ships, and speculating on the future. Were they destined to be crushed by Ruy Freire's array of war vessels? In that case the Persian trade, in the promotion of which Kerridge had taken so large a share, was doomed to an ignominious failure. Or would they once more carry the red cross to victory, and possibly return at Ormus the hard knocks the Portuguese had dealt to Downton at Swally? The situation was decidedly interesting, and many times during the long voyage his thoughts must have turned to the Persian Gulf and what was happening there.

Of the up-country factories during this year, Agra had little to report. Biddulph, having compounded the large debt which had been so long owing, obtained leave to return to England, and Hughes (as already mentioned) was designated to succeed him 'in the Courts agentshipp'. Jahāngīr left his capital in October, the usual mystery being observed in regard to his destination. Kābul was rumoured to be his objective, but after visiting Hardwar and Delhi he turned northwards to Kashmīr. At Agra, meanwhile, the factors were becoming uneasy at the growing clamour of some merchants from Sind, who had come to demand compensation for goods on board a Portuguese vessel which had been captured by the English. For a time their claims were staved off by persistent denials on the part of the factors of any knowledge of the incident; and when the matter was pressed vigorously on the city authorities, the latter, aware that the English were virtually under the protection of Āsaf Khān, referred the complainants to him. He had then left Agra for the royal camp, whither the Sind merchants departed to seek justice; and at the close of the year we leave the Agra factors watching with some anxiety for news from that quarter, and demanding instructions from Surat as to their attitude towards the claim.

The centre of political interest had meanwhile shifted to Burhānpur, where Prince Shāh Jahān was in charge of the operations

against the Deccan princes. From Heynes and Hutchinson, who had re-established the English factory there in May, 1620, we have several letters. Some alarm was caused them by a revival of the claim of the Portuguese Soares; but this they resisted with success. The task of procuring from the Prince a fresh *farmān*, desired by the Surat factors for the redress of their many grievances, proved a more difficult task. They endeavoured to make friends with Is-hāq Beg, their old enemy, who about the end of September, 1621, was reappointed Governor of Surat by the Prince, apparently because he had undertaken to increase the revenues from that port by two lakhs of *mahmūdīs* yearly (p. 281). He was profuse in his promises of favour, but they wrote to Surat that 'hee is a straunge cunning dogg, powerfull, and will bite shrewdly if you muzzle him not'. In a letter dated October 7, 1621, there is an account of a characteristic interview the two factors had with him and Afzal Khān, the Prince's right-hand man. 'Afsul Chan began with a long appollegee that the Prince was very earnest to put us from his porte and writ to his father to commaund us out of his country; but himself and Isack Beag had delivered good words of us and asswaged that heat (as they terme it) hee had against us. Wee weare as rownd with them, and desired them to call us into the guselchan where wee might heare as much from the Princes mouth and receave his firmaen to that effect, after which wee would not staye a daye longer then was necessary for our embarqueing. Whereat that [they?] replyed noe; they weare our freinds; and vowed by all their divells, as their fathers sowles, that within few dayes wee should have our firmaen desired, written soe effectually and such agreement made betwixt us before the Prince as never hereafter there should be breach of freindshipp: that all Guzerat was now [ ].' The two Englishmen did not in the least believe the flattering promises made to them, but they hoped to obtain at least something, 'for their feare of us, which they have, and doe dayly discover, will doubtles bring themselves to conformetie.' A later letter (p. 319) narrates an audience Heynes and Hutchinson obtained with the Prince on the subject of the grant, when he told them that 'if wee would live quietly with his subjects [and] trade civelly like marchaunts, not offer force to the people of his porte nor robb the juncks and boats of Mussallmen or Banians

passing the seas, either subjects to himselfe or other his neighbour princes, wee should then have content in all our desires, his porte and all other his places should be ours, and more free to us then to any marchaunts; yf not, wee had then his lycence to leave his porte and depart the country.' The factors replied by asserting that the English had 'alwayes lived freindly with his people and treated them civelly as became marchaunts, both at his porte and elcewhere'; they complained in strong terms of the extortions practised by the Surat officials; and boldly told the Prince that they found they could not get 'any mannour of justice or hope thereof from His Highnes'. 'For our departure from his porte and countrey, wee answered wee should be ready soe to doe if hee pleased to give us firmaen [autho]rizing us, whereby wee might justifie our returne to the Kings Majestie of Eingland, by whose command, together with the lycence of his father and himselfe, wee had this many yeares traded within his kingdoms.' The Prince, without showing any resentment, referred them to Rustam Khān, whom he had just appointed to administer the province of Gujarāt, and to Is-hāq Beg, the new Governor of Surat, and said that whatever those two officials agreed to he would confirm. This was by no means satisfactory, and the pertinacious Englishmen pressed him to read and grant the articles which they presented. 'Whereupon ... hee tooke our articles and read them; and to the last, which concerned the landing of our currall and buying of goods for Mocho, hee rent them in sunder and threw downe the paper, sayeing wee should nither have lycence in the one or other of them, seeing that nothing elce but the profitt and bread of his people could content us. Soe riseing, gave us order to come at night to the Gushall Chon for a fuller answer.' They duly attended, but only to find the Prince 'so full of other busines that ours was not thought upon', and they had to be content with an interview the following evening with Afzal Khān and Is-hāq Beg. After much dispute, the former undertook on behalf of the Prince that a *farmān* should be granted, sanctioning all their requests except those for permission to trade in coral and to purchase goods for a Red Sea voyage. These two points were left entirely to the decision of Rustam Khān and Is-hāq Beg, and the factors could only advise their superiors at Surat to settle the matters with the latter official. The *farmān*

was delivered as promised, and was dispatched to Surat on November 18, 1621.[1]

In the meantime, however, the President and Council at Surat had found themselves involved in a fresh dispute which threatened serious consequences. It appears to have arisen from their daring action in taking out of the Surat junk money and goods alleged to belong to Dābhol merchants (see p. xxxii). It was indeed scarcely to be expected that such an outrage—as we should now term it, although lightly enough regarded in those days—would pass with a mere protest. The actual course of events is obscure, for almost all the information we have is contained in letters from the other factories sympathizing with their countrymen in their 'more then barbarous usage'. A letter from Ahmadābād refers to 'curtesies' done by the Dutch at Surat to the English 'in tyme of there freedom and your trowble, keepeinge you in there howse and giveinge you meate and drinck when you were not permitted to buy any for yourselves' (p. 354); and another from Baroda (p. 345) shows that a settlement had been reached which involved the abandonment of that factory.[2] This disturbance at Surat was followed by trouble at Cambay and Ahmadābād. At both these places Safī Khān laid an embargo on the goods the English had purchased, claiming compensation for money of his alleged to have been taken by them in one of the Portuguese prizes. The close of the year leaves him still unsatisfied, and the factors awaiting instructions from the President and Council.

The documents included in the present volume contain several references to the development of Dutch commerce in the dominions of the Mogul—a subject on which but little has yet been published. The establishment of a factory at Surat in 1616 by Pieter van den Broecke, and his disastrous second visit in the following year, when his two ships were driven ashore and totally lost, have already been recorded in the *Letters received by the East India Company*. The

[1] Among other matters, the factors wrote, 'yt gives you lycence for your howse'. This seems to have settled for a time the long-standing dispute as to the English dwelling. The Surat factors had already written to the Company that 'freedome also is graunted us to build a house for our best conveniencie, and is already halfe finished; yett the rent not agreed upon' (p. 325).

[2] From later documents it appears that the English were forced to restore their booty, which amounted to 7,267½ rials of eight.

story is continued in the present volume, from which we learn that Pieter Gillesz van Ravesteyn, whom Van den Broecke had left in charge at Surat, arrived at Court in January, 1618, and succeeded in procuring a satisfactory grant of privileges from the Prince. 'The Fleminge is planted at Suratt,' wrote Roe to the Company, '[and] hath obteyned a firmaen upon as good tearmes almost as wee. I did my endeavour to crosse him, but they come in upon the same ground that wee began, and by which wee subsist, feare' (p. 15). From a letter written by an English factor at Burhānpur in August, 1618 (p. 37), it is clear that some of the Hollanders had recently made an expedition to Agra, but of this we have no details. The troubles in the Far East prevented the dispatch of any supplies to the Dutch factory at Surat during 1619, though a certain amount of money was obtained by the sale to the local authorities of the guns recovered from their wrecked ships. The conclusion of peace gave the Hollanders an opportunity of making up for lost time, and in the autumn of 1620 Pieter van den Broecke appeared once more at Surat, this time to make that place his head quarters, with the title of 'Director for Arabia, Persia, and India'. Factors were dispatched in various directions to procure supplies of calico and indigo. In March, 1621, we hear of a Dutch caravan being at Māndū on its way down from Agra (p. 243 *n.*); and in the following month Wouter Heuten with nine or ten other Dutchmen arrived at the latter city, where he was presented by Āsaf Khān to the Emperor and graciously received. As regards Ahmadābād, we have a reference on p. 354 to two visits paid by the Dutch to that city 'in Mr. Brownes tyme', and their hospitable entertainment by the English factors. A later visit, however, roused feelings of a very different nature, for Safī Khān prevented a Dutch caravan from leaving Sarkhej pending satisfaction of his claim against the English, and the latter, on being requested to acquit their rivals of any responsibility, showed considerable reluctance to do so. They complied after a while, and the Dutch goods were released; but the dispute, and the language used by the factors in their letters reporting the matter, show that distrust and jealousy had taken the place of the pleasant relations of former days. So long as the Dutch were weak, and their competition a negligible quantity, the merchants of both nations were on excellent terms; but now that they were

strong and well provided with funds the aspect of affairs was entirely altered. We leave them watching one another with suspicion and ill-will—an attitude which unfortunately was now a normal one between the two nations throughout the entire East.

On the eastern side of India the only places at which English factors were stationed at the beginning of 1618 were Masulipatam, the principal port of the Golconda kingdom, and Petapoli (Peddapalli), a coast town—now known as Nizāmpatam—about thirty-six miles to the southward. These factories were chiefly engaged in providing goods for the trade in the Eastern islands, and were supplied and controlled from the English head quarters at Bantam. They were thus involved in the fortunes of the latter settlement; and for the adequate comprehension of many allusions in the text it is necessary to summarize, however briefly, the important events which were taking place in the Far East during the years covered by the present volume.

The rise and progress of the rivalry between England and Holland in that region have been described at some length in the introductions to the later volumes of the *Letters received by the East India Company*[1], and we need only resume the story from the point at which it was dropped. When, in the autumn of 1617, the Committees of the second joint stock were preparing their first fleet for dispatch to the Indies, the gravest question they found themselves called upon to face was the attitude to be adopted towards the Dutch claim to exclude the English from the Moluccas and the Bandas, on the ground that the trade of those islands—the sole source of the more valuable spices—belonged solely to Holland, in consequence of concessions procured from the native chiefs. This claim had always been strenuously resisted by the English Company at home and disregarded by their servants in the East. Some of the Committees, recognizing the seriousness of the situation, were in favour of opening negotiations with the Dutch East India Company for a peaceful settlement of their differences; but previous efforts of that kind had uniformly proved futile, and the majority were convinced that the only possible attitude was one of firm insistence on their rights. John Jourdain, who had recently returned from serving for three years as Agent at Bantam, gave

[1] See also *The Journal of John Jourdain*, recently published by the Hakluyt Society.

it as his opinion that 'the Flemings either dare not or will not sett upon the English'; and the Committee decided that their best policy would be 'to send the more shippinge, not to oppose the Hollanders in hostile manner butt to countenance their buysines, that they bee not putt downe or forced from their trade (which itt seemes they doe intend in all partes), butt to send a good strength, both to the Molloccoes and Banda; and doe itt to purpose once for all, and trye what the Hollanders will doe, if a man of couradge maye bee had that will not endure their wrongs; butt as yett they have onely given hard words but perfourmed noe deeds; and the Companies intents have bene, and still will bee, not to dryve a warre with them, butt to defend and resiste the wronge thatt may bee putt upon the English' (*Court Minutes*, September 25, 1617). As a man of weight as well as of 'couradge' was needed to give effect to this policy, the command of the fleet was entrusted to Sir Thomas Dale, whose administration of Virginia had procured him a reputation for firmness and ability, while his service in the Low Countries had made him well known to the States-General. With him went Jourdain as 'President for all merchandizing causes in the Indies', having, in conjunction with his Council, jurisdiction over all the Company's factories in the East except Surat and its dependencies (these, as we have seen, had been specially placed under the control of Roe), besides the control of the Company's shipping.

Dale and Jourdain sailed with six ships in the early spring of 1618. Except for an encounter with a Portuguese carrack, which was forced to ransom itself by the payment of a large sum, the voyage was uniformly disastrous. At the Cape the two leaders were nearly drowned by the upsetting of a boat; in the middle of November the *Sun*, the finest vessel of the fleet, was wrecked on the island of Engano with great loss of life; and when, on November 19, 1618, the remaining ships reached Bantam, the long voyage had rendered them almost unseaworthy and sickness had reduced their crews to an alarming extent. Gloomy news awaited them. The position in the Bandas was almost desperate. Courthope's two ships were in the hands of the Dutch, and he himself was blockaded in Pulo Run; an attempt made to relieve him in March, 1618, had ended in two more ships being taken within sight of their goal; while,

although the Dutch had generally refrained from active hostilities outside the disputed region, their attitude was extremely threatening, and more than one minor collision had occurred. Hitherto, retaliation had been out of the question for want of means; but now with Pring's fleet, which was lying in the roads when Dale arrived, the English were for a time in a stronger position than their adversaries. At a consultation held on November 28, it was 'with one consent resolved to lay hold upon all occasions to redeeme the disgraces and losses done to our Kinge and countrie' (*Hague Transcripts* (*translations*), series I, vol. iii, no. civ); and accordingly a week later a richly laden Dutch ship, the *Black Lion*, was seized in Bantam Roads and held as a hostage for the redress of English grievances. With the ill fortune that attended all Dale's proceedings at this time, the seizure produced the worst results, for not only did it precipitate a general war in the Far East between the two nations, but the vessel herself with all her cargo was accidentally destroyed by fire, owing to the carelessness of some sailors rummaging for liquor, and the English had later on to face a justifiable demand for compensation for the loss.

The Dutch answered the capture of the *Black Lion* by destroying the English factory at Jakatra, on the pretext that preparations were being made within its precincts for attacking their fort. On December 23 the two fleets met off that port, and an indecisive action ensued. The fight was renewed next day, and ended rather to the advantage of the English. The Hollanders, finding themselves the weaker side, resolved to withdraw to Amboyna; and Dale thereupon joined the natives in besieging the Dutch fortress at Jakatra. The garrison was soon obliged to make overtures for surrendering to the English; but just when an agreement had been reached, the Pangaran of Bantam interfered and insisted that the fort should be made over to him. Being thus prevented from carrying out the proposed terms of capitulation, Dale withdrew his men and guns and returned to Bantam, with the result that the garrison was easily able to hold out until relief came.

At the beginning of March, 1619, four Dutch ships were attacked by Pring in the Straits of Sunda, but succeeded in making their escape. Meanwhile, Jourdain and Dale were debating the next move. Their ships were in bad condition and short both of men and of stores,

while it was certain that, with the change of monsoon, Coen, the Dutch Governor-General, would be back from the Moluccas with his whole strength. Relations with the Pangaran of Bantam were strained to breaking point, and no help could be expected from that quarter. It was consequently decided to abandon Bantam and fall back upon the Coromandel Coast, there to refit and arrange for a junction with a new fleet from Surat. Accordingly, towards the end of May, Dale and Pring, after seizing a number of Chinese junks in Bantam Roads as a set-off against debts due by Chinese traders on shore, sailed for Masulipatam. Jourdain, who had had differences with the former as to their respective powers and complained much of Dale's behaviour towards him, had already departed with two ships to inspect and reorganize the factories at Jambi, Patani, and elsewhere.

Pring was the first to reach the Indian coast, but not at the point intended. At the end of June he anchored eighty or ninety miles to the north of Masulipatam. Some factors were landed and letters dispatched to Surat and Masulipatam; and Methwold, the Agent at the latter place, found himself called away from his peaceful investments to provide victuals and stores for a ravenous and ungrateful fleet. Having seen to their immediate necessities, he returned to his post to find that Dale and his squadron had just come to an anchor in the roads. The general himself was so ill that their first care was to get him ashore to the English house; and there, on August 9, 1619, 'after twenty dayes of languishing sicknesse, after maney testemoneys of good Christianety, contempt of death, and singular zeale and affection towards your service,' he ended a notable career. In the following month Pring brought his ships round to Masulipatam and assumed charge of the whole fleet; but he had none of Dale's energy and power of command, and later on the Company recorded in stinging language their sense of his unfitness for his post. For several months he lingered helplessly at Masulipatam, while his riotous sailors committed excesses which brought disgrace on the English name (p. 153).

In the meantime Coen, having relieved Jakatra, struck vigorously at his disorganized foes. Three Dutch ships, strongly armed and well manned, were sent in pursuit of Jourdain, and found him at Patani with the *Hound* and *Sampson*. Though cruelly overmatched,

the gallant President would not listen to the advice of those around him, who urged him to stand out to sea and make a running fight of it. He answered that 'it should never be reported that he would runn away from a Fleming'; and so his vessels quietly awaited their doom. Next morning (July 17, 1619) at daybreak the battle began. As their antagonists admitted, the English defended themselves with stubborn bravery, and only abandoned the contest when further resistance had become impossible. Negotiations were now commenced for a surrender; and while these were going on, Jourdain, who had incautiously shown himself on deck, was killed by a bullet aimed at him by a Dutch sharpshooter.[1] This victory was quickly followed by others. In August the *Star* was captured in the Straits of Sunda; and at the beginning of October Robert Bonner, who, with four ships, was waiting at Tiku for the laggard Pring, was surprised by a Dutch squadron, his fleet taken, and he himself mortally wounded.[2] Reckoning the four previously captured in the Bandas, but ignoring the *Speedwell* (seized off Bantam, but subsequently released), the English had now lost in all eleven ships, to say nothing of the damage done at their factories; and their only set-off against these misfortunes was the capture of the *Black Lion*, from which, as we have seen, they sustained in the end more damage than gain.

At last, on December 10, 1619, Pring sailed from Masulipatam and proceeded to Tiku, where he effected a junction with a squadron of three ships from Surat under John Bickley. In March, 1620, the united fleet set out for Bantam, with the intention of trying their fortune once for all against their enterprising adversaries. On April 8, however, they were met in the Straits of Sunda by an English ship, the *Bull*, bringing news that an arrangement had been concluded at home, by which the two Companies had agreed to a modified partnership in the Far East, the English to have one-third of the trade in the Moluccas, and one-half of the Bantam pepper trade, and both parties uniting in providing a fleet for

[1] See *The Journal of John Jourdain* (Hakluyt Society, 1905), p. 368.

[2] One of the vessels thus captured was the *Dragon*, Lancaster's old flagship. By the irony of fate, she spent the next few months in drudging backwards and forwards with timber and stone for the building of the new Dutch fortress at Batavia (Jakatra), and got so worn in this service that on the conclusion of peace the English factors refused to accept her again, preferring to stand out for her supposed value at the time of surrender.

defence against the Spaniards and Portuguese. Three days later the two fleets met, not as enemies, but as allies, and on the following day they anchored side by side in Bantam Roads to exchange congratulations and concert measures for united action in the future.

It would have been surprising if the attempt thus made to induce two antagonistic bodies, whose passions had been inflamed to the highest pitch, to work together in harmony for their common profit, had turned out a success. As a matter of fact, the reconciliation, both at home and abroad, was but a hollow one; both parties smarted under a sense of injury, and disagreements ensued almost from the outset. Richard Fursland, the successor of Jourdain as President of the English, found himself obliged to fix his head quarters at Batavia—the fortified town established by the Hollanders on the site of Jakatra—for the Pangaran of Bantam refused to have anything to do with either nation; and thereupon began a long series of wrangles regarding the status of the English in Dutch territory (as the latter considered the settlement to be), the interpretation of the Treaty (particularly of the clauses relating to the restoration of the captured ships and goods), and half a dozen other points. Of the measures taken in concert only two are strictly germane to our narrative. The one is the dispatch of a joint fleet in the autumn of 1621 under Admirals Dedel and Fitzherbert to blockade the Portuguese possessions on the Malabar Coast[1]; we have here only the initiation of the enterprise and the papers printed in the text need no further elucidation. The other was the admission of the English to a share in the trade of Pulicat, the fortified station which the Dutch had established on the coast of Coromandel, in the territories which still remained under the shadowy rule of the Hindu sovereigns of Vijayanagar. The seventh article of the Treaty of Defence had declared that 'the English Companie shall freely use and enjoy the traffique at the place of Pellicate and shall beare the moyetie of the charge of the maintenance of the fort and garrison there; this to begin from the tyme

[1] The Truce of Antwerp had expired in April, 1621, and the Dutch were now again formally at war with the King of Spain and Portugal. The English share in this vigorous 'defensive' policy was justified on the ground of the hostilities which the Portuguese had carried on against them ever since their arrival in Indian waters.

of the publication of this treaty in those parts.'[1] The latter stipulation the Dutch agreed to waive until the English factors should actually arrive at Pulicat, which was not until June 9, 1621; and the conditions agreed upon for the joint prosecution of the trade there (p. 253) appear to have been framed in a spirit of conciliation creditable to both sides. The growing exacerbation, however, is manifested in a letter quoted on p. 299, in which the Dutch Governor-General warns his subordinate at Masulipatam to hold the English strictly to the letter of the agreement, and to afford them no assistance beyond what was absolutely necessary. The full effect of this we shall see in the later correspondence.

The factory at Petapoli was dissolved upon the English establishing themselves at Pulicat, as it was considered unnecessary to have two branches for the purchase of the same class of goods. Matthew Duke, who had been in charge of that factory, considered this action unwise (p. 304); but it was evidently a justifiable course to adopt in the circumstances, although in the end the experiment of a partnership at Pulicat proved a failure.

From Masulipatam itself we have several letters, but they relate mostly to commercial details and call therefore for no special remark. William Methwold took over the charge of the factory there from Adam Denton in the summer of 1618, and was still chief at the end of 1621, though under sentence of recall by the Company for alleged participation in excessive private trading. Several of his letters refer to the discovery of a diamond mine at Kollūr, on the Kistna, and to a visit paid to it by Methwold and his Dutch colleague, Andries Souri. Further particulars of this mine will be found in the *Relations of the Kingdome of Golchonda*, written by Methwold after his return to England, and published as a supplement to the 1626 edition of *Purchas his Pilgrimage*.

The mention in one of the letters from Masulipatam (p. 266) of a young Englishwoman who came out in a Danish fleet and afterwards escaped in a native boat to Pulicat, where she was 'after little stay there honn[estly] married to the preacher of the fort', reminds us that in the period covered by the present volume Denmark made a bold endeavour to obtain a share in the trade to the East Indies. The Danish East India Company was established

[1] *Factory Records, Java*, vol. ii. part 1.

by Christian IV in March, 1616; and, two years later, on the representations of a Dutch merchant named Marcellis de Boschhouwer, who claimed to have been authorized by the King of Kandy to invite assistance from Europe against the Portuguese, it was resolved to found a colony in the island of Ceylon. The *Oeresund* was dispatched in August, 1618, under another Dutchman named Roelant Crape, who is supposed to have been previously at the court of the Nāyak of Tanjūr and had now entered the service of the Danish Company. He reached Ceylon in safety, but, after sending word to the King that a fleet was following, passed on to the Coromandel Coast. There he was attacked by six Portuguese galleys under André Botelho da Costa. In the conflict Crape's vessel was driven ashore, and he and a handful of his men took refuge at Tanjūr, where they were well received by Rāghunātha, the Nāyak Rāja. Meanwhile the main fleet, composed of two men-of-war lent by the King and three merchant-ships equipped by the Company, had started in November, 1618, under the command of Ove Gjedde, with Boschhouwer as chief merchant. The fleet arrived at the Cape in July, 1619 (pp. 124, 136), and Ceylon was reached some months later. Boschhouwer had died during the voyage, and Gjedde found the King of Kandy by no means ready to make good all that the supposed 'ambassador' had promised in his name. Finding that his negotiations with that monarch were not likely to yield satisfactory results, the Danish admiral thought it best to push on to the Indian coast, in order to discover what success had attended the attempt of Crape to obtain a settlement on the mainland. Their united efforts resulted in the formal cession by the Nāyak in November, 1620, of the port of Tranquebar. There a rudimentary fortress was built, under the name of Dansborg, and Hendrik Hess was left in charge with about twenty persons and a few cannon. One of the merchant-ships was dispatched direct to Europe from the new settlement. Gjedde, in his ship the *Elephant*, proceeded first to Ceylon to take off a party he had left there, and then sailed in May, 1621, for Copenhagen, which was reached in safety the following spring. The other two vessels were not so fortunate; one, the vice-admiral of the squadron, fell into the hands of the Portuguese; the other is stated to have been wrecked near Trincomalee. Such in brief is the story of the

of the publication of this
lation the Dutch agreed
actually arrive at Pulic
the conditions agreed
there (p. 253) appear t
creditable to both sid
manifested in a lett
Governor-General wa
the English strictly t
them no assistance
full effect of this we

The factory at P
ing themselves at
two branches for t
Duke, who had b
unwise (p. 304);
in the circumst
partnership at I

From Masu
mostly to co
remark. Wi
there from
at the end
for alleged
his letters
on the K
colleagu
found i
Methw
ment

Th
of a
afte
lit
re

treasury (pp. 47, 56); and the orders prohibiting the Company's servants from either marrying in the country or bringing their wives from England (p. 21). Outside the ranks of the mercantile staff, we may note the professional zeal of the Surat factory's surgeon—a worthy prototype (were it not for his intemperance) of the Indian Medical Service—who, being summoned to attend the Governor of Broach, could only promise a hurried visit, because (as his superiors wrote) 'a dangerous cure, which (unknowne to us) he undertook uppon a poore man that hath an impostume, will [require] his speedy returne or indanger the mans life' (p. 99). Equal praise cannot be given to the chaplain at the same place, who gave rise to much scandal by levanting in 'Moores apparell' to Ahmadābād, in pursuit of the three Englishwomen who had come out in the same fleet (p. 32); but against his backslidings we may set the pious and correct behaviour of his colleague, the Reverend Patrick Copland. The latter, by the way, was the first Anglican clergyman to convert to Christianity a native of India, viz. a lad 'borne in the Bay of Bengala', whom he brought home with him from the East in 1614. This youth, after being taught at the East India Company's expense, was publicly baptized at St. Dionis Backchurch, Fenchurch Street, on December 22, 1616, by the name of Peter, to which King James is said to have added the surname of Pope. He returned to India with Copland in 1617, but what became of him is not known, though three letters of his, written in Latin, which were printed as an appendix to Copland's sermon, *Virginia's God be thanked* (1622), show that he was alive in 1620. Copland himself ended a most chequered career by dying in the Bermudas.

'Nay, looking into other old log-books, I discern, in the Far East too, a notable germination. By Portuguese Gama, by Dutch and other traffickers and sea-and-land rovers, the kingdoms of the Sun are opened to our dim Fog-land withal; are coming into a kind of contact with it. England herself has a traffic there, a continually increasing traffic. . . . At Surat and elsewhere, certain poor English Factories are rising—in spite of "the Portugals of Goa". . . . Shah Abbas, Jehangire, Great Mogul, and fabulous-real Potentates of the uttermost parts of the Earth are dimly disclosed to us; Night's ancient curtain being now drawn aside.'—Carlyle's *Historical Sketches*, p. 90.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA
1618–1621

WILLIAM METHWOLD[1] AT BANTAM TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY [19?], 1618 (*O. C.* 596).

Narrates his voyage in the *Unicorn* of Pepwell's fleet along the Malabar coast in March, 1617. Visits to Dābhol, Calicut, and Cranganore. Two Portuguese vessels were seen in passing Quilon, but Pepwell would not attack them, for fear of the Portuguese fort. The fleet watered at 'Berenga[2]', and on April 10 doubled Cape Comorin. On the 17th the *Unicorn* parted from the fleet and steered for Tiku, where she arrived May 24. Transactions there. Prices of Surat calicoes at Tiku. 'Our cargazon was generally well conditioned, as having beene bespoken at Baroch and overseene with care. . . . If the trade be closely followed betwixt this and Surratt, a residence at Baroach will be absolutely necessary; which may allso uppon occasion supply Cambaia (not two dayes journy from thence), and in the time of raynes procure goods twenty per cent. better cheape then at other times; in all which sorts of goods aforementioned the lesse feare followes, because at Bantam or aney other place to the Eastwards those goods are most vendible and much requested.' Chintzes, Cambay stuffs, iron and steel of Surat will also vend here, by report. He thinks that ships should be commanded by merchants, not by sailors. Excessive private trade of the latter. After four months' stay, during

[1] Went out to the East in the 1616 fleet. In 1618 he was sent from Bantam to Masulipatam as Agent there, and remained four years. He returned to Java in 1623, and thence proceeded to England. Ten years later he was appointed President at Surat, and in that capacity negotiated the important convention of 1635 with the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa. After his return home (1639) he took an active part in the administration of the Company, and was Deputy Governor from 1643 to his death in March, 1653. For further particulars see *Letters Received by the East India Company*, vol. v. p. 124, and the notice in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[2] A fishing village on the coast of Travancore, apparently the Vilinjam of modern maps, about seven miles south-south-east of Trivandrum. It is variously termed 'Beringar', 'Brinjaon,' 'Bring John,' &c., by the old navigators, and Herbert boldly declares it to be Welsh ('Bryn John').

which they buried twenty-three persons, the *Unicorn* sailed from Tiku on October 8, and reached Bantam on October 22, 1617. (*Holograph. Endorsed* 'Receaved by the *Hope*, 1 September, 1618'. 3½ *pp.*)

SIR THOMAS ROE AT AHMADĀBĀD TO ALL COMMANDERS OF THE COMPANY'S SHIPS, JANUARY 20, 1618 (*O. C.* 597).[1]

'Wheras the honourable lord Asaph-chan hath sett out from the Great Mogolls port of Goga [Goghā], in the Bay of Cambaya, the shipp called the *Ghehangier* [*Jahāngīr*], under the command and conduct of Eclaus [Ikhlās], captain, and Bahaud [Bahādur?], pilat, to passe into the Redd Sea in course of merchandiz,' and has applied to Roe for a safe-conduct, these are to desire all English commanders to refrain from molesting that vessel and its mariners. Notwithstanding, 'yf any ship of India or either of Goga, Suratt or Cambaya happen to come or fall in company of the English fleete homward bound, as they come into Suratt . . . I wish them to keepe company, and to stay them at the Barr of Suratt untill they heare from shore how our trade continewes.' If all be well, 'then to suffer them quiettly to goe at their pleasurs.' (*Signed copy*, 1½ *pp.*)

INSTRUCTIONS FROM SIR THOMAS ROE TO THE FACTORS IN PERSIA, FEBRUARY 4, 1618 (*O. C.* 608).

To urge the Shah to prevent the Portuguese from molesting English vessels in his seas. Arrangements for purchasing Persian silk. In case of Thomas Barker's death, Edward Monnox is to succeed him as Agent. (*Copy. Endorsed by Roe* 'To be conveyed by the way of Syndu by Mr. Ker[ridge], the ship not going', 2¾ *pp. Printed in* '*The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*', p. 462.)

SIR THOMAS ROE AT AHMADĀBĀD TO THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT [EARLY IN FEBRUARY, 1618] (*O. C.* 612).

Has received his letter of January 21. 'For the Red Sea, I understand your conclusions. And it seemes you thinck Dabull

[1] For the circumstances in which this pass was given see p. 5.

will vent all your dead comodities, for feare; which if it doe, the riddance is fayre, and no more question with them, if also they will contract for a yearly trade with us. But I am perswaded if wee fynd not a juncke at port, they will not bee drawen to take off such comodities as I ayme at to vent, and then beeing shipt to the sowth what can bee done with them, if not to the Red Sea? Wee must proceed upon some grounds, and cannot force them at the port but by the chance of a juncke, which is a chance. Then I say wee shall yet bee sure to meete some of them at sea, wher wee may effect our purpose. Wee must chasten these people; ther is noe remedie; and be feared of all sydes, els wee shall doe noe good. Yet suppose they bought of these goods at port, the quantetie is not such that it meetes with all the ends I ayme att; for I would goe to initiate a trade there, and the payment I tooke at Dabul should bee goods fitt for the Redd Sea. And though that stock were small, yet the returne of it would be better. For the returne of that I confesse I would not goe, if that only were our hopes; but the mayne matter you mention not, which is soe employing of a ship upon this joynt stocks account, that shee might bee laden upon yt, and the great remaynes not bee transported to losse to the new. If you consider it, it is of as great consequence as anything you can forecast; and to help to beare the chardge of soe much tyme spent (which I would consent too in a harbour, if any here fitt for us, unlesse you can direct some new way to have a ship from the sowthward, which I hould now impossible). I declare my opinion that in case I traded not at Dabul for goods fitt for Mocha, I would more then trade wherever I mett them. Yf they misenforme not from Mesolapatan, ther is great store of indico shipt at some ports to the sowth, all which take curtasses of our enemies[1] and pay them duties for licence as lords of the sea, which wee will not acknowledge, and as their allies I would make them prize. If wee doe it not, the Dutch will. I had rather wee begunn to compell them to take us for their protectors then another, and by this course wee shall hinder and bridle the Portugall of his profitts and force him to some composition with us, when hee sees wee beginn soe round a course. Now he letts us rust and decay in reputation, while hee getts

[1] i. e. a pass (*cartas*) from the Portuguese.

creditt and hart. The companie of our shipps will awe the Guzeratts, as I have often urdged, and make them see our frendship necessarie to them; for my opinion is wee cannot hould long in peace with them. For any juncke or ship of Dieu whatsoever, I would take her. They live under our enemies, as subjects to them; and the woorst is, if the Mogol quarrell it, to compound as did the Portugalls. When wee are in possession, wee can bee no loosers. Therfore in the poynts you know my opinion, and I declare it fully that I thinck it fitt to send a ship thither[1] upon these tearmes, to returne hither in September; if you thincke otherwise, without any farther dispute I yeild to yow, and shall noe way be discontent, but only wilbe free of any exception to be taken by the Companie that I forecast not their profitt; and in case you send not, I pray give your reasons to the Companie, as doubtlesse I shall give myne.' Leaves to Pring the choice of a suitable ship for the voyage. As regards merchants, Steel is wholly occupied with his waterworks scheme, and so is not available; 'his ayd to the Red Sea is quite given over.' 'Here hath beene some question aboute the voyadge among themselves, and all merchants loath to adventure. Asaph-chan hath encouraged some soe farr as to fraight from Goga the *Gehangier*. Shee hath her cartasse without stopping at Suratt and upon conclusion sent to mee for my passe, els the merchants would not stirr; that only stuck. At which I went to court and found them with Etiman Dowlatt[2] and Asaph-chan sitting in the amkass[3] making of screetes[4], the captain malum[5] and principall adventurers. Presently they tooke occasion to renew their feares of us, and Asaph-chan (without any promise of mee) undertooke for us, at which I replyed they had experience of us that wee

[1] To the Red Sea.

[2] Itimād-uddaula (Mīrzā Ghiāsuddīn Muhammad), father of Nūr Mahāl and Āsaf Khān. His beautiful tomb near Agra is well known.

[3] The hall in which the Mogul held his public receptions. Bernier, speaking of the palace court at Delhi, says 'it is in this extensive hall that the King gives audience indiscriminately to all his subjects; hence it is called *Am-Kas* [*ām-o-khās*, "simple and gentle"] or audience-chamber of high and low' (Constable's translation, p. 261). See also Thevenot's *Voyages*, vol. v. p. 127 (ed. 1727). Wilson has the form *khās-o-ām*, 'high and low,' which is probably the more correct.

[4] Notes or agreements (Ital. *scritto*).

[5] Arabic *mu'allim* ('instructor'), a pilot or sailing-master.

defended them; that the subjects of the King durst not wrong them while our masters were in peace, but that was not all the danger; the Dutch, French or piratts might, and the jealouzie after wrong us. Therfore I desiered a declaration in the poynt whither they nor the King would not expect and require at our hands the faults of other men, those trading under His Majesties authoritie beeing newtralls. The father, sonne and merchants replyed it was all reason; the King expected not any thing from us but for ourselves. Then I shewed him the danger of others, and made publique our offer two years made to the King in the name of His Majestie to safe conduct their goods and shipps to our powers; that wee had now a fleete; wee were ready with one or two to serve His Majestie or the Prince, to goe with them or to take in their goods, and this I thought a full proofe of my masters affection and our intents to them. To this Etimon Dowlutt replyed hee never hard so noble an offer; no brother could say more; and that he would enforme the King of it. The merchants first tould him for freighting in our ships, they never would; wee would bee masters of our shipps, and they could not have that libertie nor content they desired; and besides the ships of the countrie would by that meanes decay, and wee enter into their trade; soe that utterly they refused to freight in us. To goe with them, they thancked mee and accepted of it, but desiered Etimon Dowlatt to know if I expected noe pay. I replyed reason would enforme them that yf wee spent our tyme, paid our men, consumed our provisions and victualls, it was fitt wee should have recompence; it was enough wee fought for them; but that if they would propound any thing, they should see how ready I would bee to show this offer was for love, not for profitt. The merchants as roundly answered they would rather sitt at home then give us anything; they knew our chardge, and they would not venture their goods to give us the profitt. At this all were blanck. I asked if they would move the King. Etimon Dowlett replyed not; hee thought wee had gone for love only, and the merchants would give us nothing. Then they proceeded upon the first poynt—if I would give a passe; which I could not deny, beeing yet in peace. I promised I would, upon these conditions, that if wee came into the Red Sea they should be contented with our company

and trade, helpe us and assist us as frends, as wee would doe them; and so it ended. Since which tyme for the sayd ship, captain, and merchants I have geven my lettre to all English, specifieing the conditions; which if wee breake with them is voyd, for it depends on the peace here [*see* p. 2]. This I am fallen upon to lett you see how little hope from them, yet that they feare us, and when they see wee will joyne with them, will fynd they must seeke us on better tearmes. I see noe reason but why wee should take cartasse mony as well as any, for wee are lords of the ports; the Portugalls dare not appeare in them.' As Steel is not available for the Red Sea voyage, thinks Monnox might be sent as chief, with two assistants, to be chosen by Kerridge. 'The secound poynt is what course of trade; wherin I advise them not to bee engaged ashore with any goods; to trad by two at once; to putt of their comoditie, and not to settle this yeare, but to treat upon conditions for the next; to enforme themselves of the Moores courses and comodities; and taking all other mentioned chances in the way, returne to Suratt, if possible in companie of the Guzeratts, that they may have one at command at their arrivall, for the bridle of these unconstant people. Yf the Mochars take it offensivly that by taking Dabullers or Dieu men or any other their trade is molested, it may bee left in the discretion of the captain and merchants to compound upon such conditions as may oblige both parts for a future trade. The dissolving of Brampoor factorie I not only approove but have ordered their sales and dispatch downe, if my lettre miscarrie not, which I desier you to second effectually. Amadavaz is cloyed; and those accused to mee are reconciled among themselves. Now I know your opinions that lesse may serve, I will at the comming of the last goods cleare and settle it as well as I can. Mesolapatan, corresponding with Bantam, cannot expect a ship from us; the season is late, and your councell good. Agra shall have fower, the two now remayning and Mr. Biddolp, who must settle there, for the King is remooving; and to assist him, some one of these. If you send Bangham theither also, when they are joyned they are sufficient. For the recoverie of the debts Mr. Biddolp must yet follow yt; and if Mr. Steele make a water woorke it must bee in Agra and hee will not only employ himselfe in that. It is great chardge to

send in and out, and so from hence it may bee supplyed. For your owne you motion sixe, your selfe, Mr. Rastall, Mr. Martin, and two yowths and a steward or weeke booke keeper; all which I allow, provided that these youths bee such as the Company entended to stay and your booke keeper one of the merchants alreadie enterteyned by the Company. Mr. Martins imployment in Baroach I well approve as the best course, to reside there and buy cloth as it is made at beast hand; one of the boyes to live with him, the other with you; and all attendants unnecessarie reshipt in the qualetie they first came out. . . . I am very glad of your stay and allowance. Breefly, you shall find mee right, and that I will assist you in all things, diminishing you in noething, with this one provisoe that you respect mee as I have done you, of which I doubt not. If I approove not your opinion, then I shall expect to have mine followed without disgrace to you. But in your course of marchandize I referr them to you and therin what I write is but opinion; it shall not bynd, nor bee discurtesie that you use better judgment. Mr. Bangham hath my consent to returne as merchant of ——' (*Copy. Incomplete.* 4 *pp.*)

JOHN BROWNE AT AHMADĀBĀD TO THE COMPANY, FEBRUARY 10, 1618 (*O. C.* 609).[1]

In reply to their letter of February 6, 1617. The confusion in the accounts was partly due to the sudden death of Robert Gipps, who kept them. He sends an inventory of the latter's estate, and also of that of William Bell. Has no information regarding Thomas Aldworth's effects. Excuses the late dispatch of Keeling's fleet from Surat. He has endeavoured this year to procure a good quantity of indigo before the ships' arrival, but the necessity of awaiting a supply of money from the fleet has delayed them. 'The exchange of your ryalls[2] is of some consequence, partely for the losse of time in attending for their delivery and retourne of mony in Amadavad when our buisines lyes in Serquese[3], then

[1] This letter is written on native-made paper, which is still in an excellent state of preservation. Ahmadābād was famous for its paper-making.

[2] Into rupees.

[3] Sarkhej, six or seven miles south-west of Ahmadābād, was the centre of the indigo industry in that neighbourhood.

the disadvantage in their sale; whereof of eyther a word. Your Honours and Worships maye be pleased to understand that the mynt master his office heere is in nature of a monopolie, and that the sheraffs[1] are poore and begerly, soe as the truth is for my parte I dare not adventure to trust them further then a pawne or reddy money, nor cann they in all my time compasse the buyeing a chest of ryalls at once; soe as we must attend their abilities to fetch itt awaye at many times, or sett it att hazard. Againe, some time when the mynt master or cheife exchanger knoweth of much store, as that time of the yeare affordeth, both of ours and the Mocha shipps, he will not suffer the mynt to goe, whereby as nowe these five weekes it hath beene shutt up, and we compelled to leave a whole chest [of] ryalls and three ingotts unexchanged. Next in the pointe of exchangeing to proffitt or losse, the difference will appeare best by those sold in Aprill att 2 rupp[ees] 11 pice, and those in November and December at 2 rupp[ees] 7 pice; the losse hereby I advised per the *Globe* [see *Letters Received*, vol. v. p. 80], as I did formerly per Richard Steele from Agmere concerning the choice of your ryalls, both for waight and goodness, advising then also the nescessity of good ballance and waights for their delivery heer, that wee bee not still compelled to deliver our ryalls by the 100, in a payre of ballance fitt for 40; but yf my insufficiencye made my advice in this pointe unworthy your consideracion, lett me nowe once againe intimate to your Honours and Worships that the want of ballance, waights, choice at home, and fitt time of sale looseth you yearly above 3000 rupp[ees], as I have observed it nowe by four yeares experyence. And to strengthen it a little more, lett you be pleased to looke on the present yeare in the exchange of your ingottes, every of which I was compelled to melt downe into little ingottes, for their easier delivery, and thereby what time wee lost wee knowe, but what waste God knoweth, for that your invoyce, or at least that from Surratt, expresseth neither waight or certaine value, but in ryalls of 4*s.* a peece, which is by proofe of them erronious.' He repudiates Keeling's charges of evil-living, and protests that he is guiltless in the matter of private trade. In future no salammoniac or opium will be sent, as these commodities are found to be unprofitable.

[1] *Shroffs*, money-changers and bankers (Arabic *sarrāf*).

As regards the provision of indigo for the present fleet, no time was lost, but that offered was so bad that 'we chose rather to forebeare that sorte and to make better choice of newe, which according to the time of makeing nowe drewe on; but in the interim Muckrab Chan [1], our then Governor, being in daylye expectacion of the Kinges arryvall, solicited my provission of toyes and rarityes to please the King, whereto, as well for his sattisfaccion and for the Companys proffitt, I indeavoured both to the newe and olde authorities [2], but to little purpoze, for after advice to Surratt and theirs back to us and wee to his Lordship, he to us and wee to them, aboute the midle November wee procured about 500 rupp[ees] in goods to sattisfie his never pleased fancye; for such is his desire to have all (and indeed best worthie) for the price he gives, but he fayling of what he hoped for, by good prices and curteous useage of our nation, he stricks into another course and embargues all the hearbe into his hands, or under restrainte, protesting notwithstanding none should have it but wee, and we att our prices yf wee would yett furnish him with such things as were not presents. Hereof againe I informed the nescessitty of the time for proviscion and shipps dispatch, but being neglected on both sides, could not sattisfie him, nor would he gratifie us or release his imbarguement; soe as thereby that indico I bargained for in November and December is but nowe makeing in February. Yett in this interim and in the knowledge hereof his Lordship grants his letters to Assuff Cans people to buy att shipps and Surratt, yea, and our bullion too in Amadavad, yf I would have sold on desired condicions. But it maye be in peruseing the account you will fynde Muckrab Chan further stored, but howe, after Assuff Can had bought to a greate quantity of goods belowe, had all the pearles above att Mandoa [Māndū], and (after peruseall, valuacion, and a long detencion in his handes) retourned in Amadavad, all but the greate pearle, which was sold him better cheape then ytts cost in England [3], then were they permitted to be sold to M[uckrab]

[1] Muqarrab Khān (of whom see *Letters Received*, vol. iii. p. 298) had recently been superseded in the government of Gujarāt by Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān). As will be seen from later letters in the present volume, he was transferred first to Patna and then to Agra.

[2] To the Surat factors and to Roe, who had recently been given plenary authority by the Company.

[3] For Āsaf Khān's purchase of this pearl see *Letters Received*, vol. vi. p. 231.

Chan, at good prices, and sithence disgraced in the Kinges presence by Assuff Can, as being his refuzalls. But to drawe to the pointe, yf these nescessary favours had beene profferred to Muckrab Chan in due time, ytt is certaine the Company had well proffitted by their sale, our provissions had beene large, and our care had beene lesse, and therefor I most humblie intreate your Honours and Worships lett not a little discourse in the theorick cause us to be led by such an ignorance in the practick as shall make all loosers but one. For those quilts party cullored, we shall by Godes grace make tryall for ther provission according to your order in some small quantitie, and for those also of cuttaine[1], but to noe greate nomber, for that we cannot gett taylors enough to worke. What we shall doe nowe the King is gone I doe not knowe, but hereof I dowbt not butt Surratt will take notice, where both taylors are more plentifull and worke better cheape. For conserves my accounts shewe the store sent home, the one halfe whereof are ambo[2] or mangoes. I cannot tell what esteeme they wilbe in in England, but heer highly esteemed, and to be provided in Maye, whenas I provided these; the other halfe are of greene ginger, mirabilons, and beeles[3], the best these partes afford, and heer preferred before those either of Cambaia or Surratt. The jarres are all fild, stoped close, skyned, and marked with the distinction of the fruits.' He has bought and sent home some bloodstones. 'Nowe concerning the inquisicion of the carricks[4] ladeing outward and homewards, whereof it seemeth (notwithstanding your order) you have received no advice, it is more easie for those att Surratt to informe themselves then we that live from the sea; yett, according to my weake judgement, I will, under correction, deliver my oppinion both waies. For their ladeing hither, I can guesse at it but by their trade heere, and fynde it little different. First, it is not to be doubted but their mayne estate is ryalls of plate, then lead, tynn, quicksilver, and elephants teeth of both sorts, currall &c.; and of all these sorts

[1] Hind. *qutnī*, 'made of cotton.' Valentyn, in his list of Surat cotton goods, has 'coetenys' and 'gecattoeneerde dekens'. Ufflet (*Factory Records, Miscell.*, vol. xxv) defines 'cuttenees' as 'a kinde of satten, half cotten, half silke'.

[2] The Gujarātī name for the mango tree.

[3] Bael or bel fruit (*Aegle marmelos*). This has always been a favourite remedy in India for dysentery and similar disorders, and the dried fruit is now imported into England.

[4] The Portuguese ships (carracks) trading between Lisbon and Goa.

they bring some quantities to Cambaia, togither with some spicerie from the Southwards.' Prices at which the Portuguese sold their goods (tin, lead, quicksilver, China silk, nutmegs, cloves, mace, vermilion, and ivory) at Cambay in June, 1617. 'For their retournes to Christendome, their entries att Lisbon can best informe the truthe: but as I conceive yf all the Oryent retournes of the Honorable Company were, as theirs, confyned to one or two places of ladeing, as many bottomes for transport, and one certaine seazon for passage, there would be found little difference in variety, wealth, or qualitie, albeytt their provisions trend from Mosambique to the Mulluccas.' He wished to sell lead, &c., in competition with the Portuguese, but the Surat factors refused a supply, on the ground that they could dispose of such goods to more advantage at Surat; yet 'the sales at Suratt cannott be hindered by Amadavad, because Amadavad is supplyed from Cambaia, as Suratt doth Decan, Brampore and those southerne and south-easterne countries'. Hopes to return to England shortly. 'By the last fleete we received heer a barrell of wyndowe glasse, but notwithstanding my advice to Surratt of Muckrab Chans desire to experyence the use thereof, I could gett no glasier (they being gone to Persia and I woott not whither, to lesse purpose) against the Kings coming hither. Att fleets arryvall, understanding by your letter of another, I mencioned it againe to Muckrab Chan, who exceedingly desired it againe, and thereupon I wrott for his coming up, but in vaine as the former, for I could not have him till after the Kings coming towards the end of December, when also he came up without tooles and soe retourned without either proffitt or experience, and such an occasion lost for tryall as I expect not againe, besides the hopes, yf the King had affected the worke, which I beleive will nowe come to nothing.' Fears the pearls, &c., sent out will prove a bad investment, though Muqarrab Khān might have bought them if they had not been reserved for Āsaf Khān. 'I pray God Assuph Can deserve soe well of our nation as his Lordship opineth of him; but herein the ends why, by the end itselfe will try all.' They note the powers entrusted to Roe. Richard Steel and his projects. A quantity of gumlac purchased for a trial. 'The unicorns horne[1]

[1] The belief that the horn of the unicorn (rhinoceros) would detect and neutralize poison was general at this time (cf. *Letters Received*, vol. vi. p. 186). For the history of this

I brought up last yeare from Surratt and shewed it to M[uckrab] Chan att 5000 rupp[ees] price, a price to high only for the shape, and five times too meane yf it had the vertue he expected, and made tryall of by the lives of a pigeon, goate, and man, which they loosing, itt also lost his esteeme, and soe I retourned it aboard from whence I had ytt.' Price of quicksilver. Borax and sugar candy sent home in the *Globe*. (*Holograph*. *Endorsed* 'Received by the *Bull*, the 13 February 1618[19]'. $7\frac{1}{4}$ *pp*.)

SIR THOMAS ROE TO THE COMPANY, [FEBRUARY, 1618] (*O.C.* 611).

Criticisms on Richard Steel's projects.[1] As regards trade with Persia, Jask is the only port yet known, and there trade 'must eyther bee by contract with the Portugall or by force sufficient to withstand them. The trade betwene Syndu[2] and Ormus is passed by the Portugalls frigatts and so to Persia, or by their cartass; but it is not so great as pretended, nor the profitt to the Portugalls a tenth parte. The ould trade is given over for the great aveneus[3] layd by the Portugalls.' To convoy native traders on payment may help in the establishment of trade, but it would be more profitable for the English to supply the goods themselves. Moreover, the English cannot keep the seas open all the year round, and when their fleet had departed the Portuguese would take revenge upon the natives. 'In summe, the Portugall houlds all the coast in absolute slaverie, and ther is no way to remedie it, unless eyther the Kyng would build or give us a port and hyre our shipping; but he will not bee drawen to alter his conditions, because he is not sencible of the dishonor, giving reason he conquered Guzuratt[4] and keepes it in the same condition he found yt and upon the same articles and contracts made by Bahud [Bahādur Shāh], Kyng of Guzuratt, who made them with the Portugalls

particular specimen see *The Embassy of Sir T. Roe*, p. 290. It appears to have finally fallen into the hands of the Dutch, who sold it in Holland for 400*l.* (*Cal. of State Papers, E. Indies*, 1622–4, p. 90).

[1] For these see *Letters Received*, vol. vi. p. 95; *The First Letter Book of the E. I. Co.*, p. 457; and *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 477. Their nature may be inferred from Roe's remarks.

[2] Lārībandar (Diul-Sind), at the mouth of the Indus. [3] Exactions (Ital. *avania*).

[4] 'Acbar, the father of this kyng, conquered it' (*marginal correction*).

before this monarchy was united.' Sending spices, &c., to Persia would no doubt be a good investment; such commodities would also sell to profit in India. As regards convoying the native junks to Mocha, 'the Guzuratts are weary of the Red Sea as it is, and will by no meanes bee drawne to give us any recompence, because wee cannot protect them from the Portugall alway, but they must pay to both.' 'For the water woorke, I cannot conceive how you can make any profitt.' Steel and his men have been entertained by the King and are to go up to Agra; so the Company is eased of that charge. Roe would send home Hatfield, the painter brought out by Steel, but fears the latter would complain to the Mogul that 'I cross his pleasure in paynting'. (*Holograph.* 2 *pp.*)

SIR THOMAS ROE AT AHMADĀBĀD TO THE COMPANY, FEBRUARY 14, 1618 (*O. C.* 610).

Forwards a transcript of his journal and copies of his letters to their various factories. Answers their letters received by the last fleet. The Gulf of Cambay has been searched, 'but can fynd noe place fitt for your head residence but Suratt.' To convoy native ships to the Red Sea will never pay. It is useless to ask permission to build a fort; 'upon bringing brick ashore to found a shipps bell, it rang to court, our people disarmed in Suratt, and I am not yet cleare of liberties lost upon yt, though I have made the Prince[1] ashamed at the weakenes of the suspition to confesse a handfull of men could take a part of their countrie by force. But it is true wee would bee lords there, and have committed soe many insolencies that I have woondred at their patience.' Reprehends the overbearing behaviour of some of the English; 'yet I patch it up.' Praises Captain Pring. A suitable port will never be ceded; 'they are weary of us as it is; and indeed wee see wee have empoverished the ports, and wounded all their trades, soe that by much perswasion of the Governors the merchant goes to sea.... And if you began to build and plant here, quarrell would arise, the enemie[2] exasperated (who may now bee drawne to composition) and all your proffitts eaten in garrizons and dead

[1] Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān), now Viceroy of Gujarāt.

[2] The Portuguese.

payes. It is noe way to drive your trades by plantation. The Dutch have spoyled the Moluccoes which they fought for, and spent more then they will yeild them, if quiett, in seaven yeares. Syndu you may freely goe too, lade and relade; but it is inhabited by the Portugall; lies noe way well for your stock (except you scatter it); it vents only your teeth[1] and affoords good cloth and many toyes. But if the sorts you have seene serve your marketts, you are nearer seated and may have what quanteties you please; and for your teeth, the marchant will fetch them at Suratt. Bengala hath noe ports but such as the Portugalls possesse for small shipping. It will vent nothing of yours. The people are unwilling, in respect of the warr (as they suppose) like to ensue in their seas; and the Prince hath crossed it, thincking wee desired to remoove thither wholy, and that, if wee stay in India, hee takes to bee an affront. But now I may obteyne one ship to come and goe, upon hope of rubies from Aracan and Pegu; but I knowe not what profitt you can make by any residence there, and I speak upon searching the bottome of all the secretts of India. If you will have patience to trye one yeare, you shall see one thing effectually done is woorth twenty by fragments. You will find it is not many factories here that getts you a penny. I will forecast your ease, and by Gods grace settle not only your priviledges but your profitts. This two yeare the Prince hath beene my enemie, and if I had yielded I must have beene his slave. This last I have stood out to the last and adventured the feircnes of his wrath. It hath succeeded better then I expected. Wee are soe reconciled that hee is now my effectuall mediator and will procure mee content. Indeed, hee only can give it; his father growes dull and suffers him to write all commands and to governe all his kingdomes. [*Marginal note by Roe.*—When I wrote this, I had woords enough; but such delayes in effects that I am weary of flatteries as of ill usadge.] You can never expect to trade here upon capitulations that shalbe permanent. Wee must serve the tyme. Some now I have gotten, but by way of firmanes and promise from the Kynge. All the goverment depends upon the present will, where appetite only governs the lords of the kingdome. But their justice is generallie good to strangers; they are not

[1] Ivory ('elephants' teeth').

rigorous, except in scearching for things to please, and what trouble wee have is for hope of them and by our owne disorders.... The Fleminge is planted at Suratt, [and] hath obteyned a firmaen upon as good tearmes almost as wee.[1] I did my endeavour to crosse him, but they come in upon the same ground that wee began, and by which wee subsist, feare. And if I fynd not all performed with mee now promised, I shalbe so bould as to chasten them once agayne; els the Duch wilbe before hand and doe it first, and then hee wilbe the brave man.' His endeavours to obtain satisfaction for debts and injuries. 'Now I am upon best tearmes, and if the court were settled would soone finish these my teadious labors. You shalbe sure of as much priviledge as any stranger, and right when the subject dares not plead his.' The experiment of taking goods up the river to Surat has resulted in failure, owing to the many sandbanks. 'Wee must sticke to Swally Roade.' Roe has tried to compound for the customs for a fixed annual payment, but the terms demanded were too high. Has hopes of concluding a peace with the Portuguese, and the Jesuit at court[2] has written to Goa to further it. The Viceroy has sent a representative to greet the Mogul on his visiting Gujarāt, but Jahāngīr refuses to receive him unless he brings fit presents. Should he appear at court, Roe will make overtures to him for the conclusion of a three years' truce. 'If I can, upon safe and honorable tearms, effect it, I shall thinck it of good meritt toward you.' The best way to force the Portuguese to consent is 'by chastising their neighbowrs for their sakes', as by obliging the Indian traders who take Portuguese passes to pay as much to the English; 'for the Portugall hath noe other right but as lords of the sea, which it is evident now he is not, and therfore the tribute due to us.' It is partly for this that Roe has pressed the sending of a ship to the Red Sea. Another way is for the fleet to blockade Goa instead of remaining for months at Surat. Pring would have undertaken this but for the leakiness of the *Royal*

[1] See the account of this Dutch mission (which was under the charge of Pieter Gillesz van Ravesteyn) in *The Embassy*, p. 457. In his report to the Directors at Amsterdam (*Hague Transcripts*, Series I, vol. iii. No. 96) Ravesteyn says they were well treated and obtained a farmān from the Prince granting them a number of privileges, though not all for which they had asked.

[2] Francisco Corsi, for whom see *The Embassy*, p. 314.

James and the absence of the *Bee*. Desirability of having goods ready at Surat to obviate the necessity of the ships staying so long. Advantage of forgoing returns for one year in order to have a good stock in the country for this purpose. Nicholas Bangham praised. The factory at Burhānpur withdrawn, 'as of no profitt now the army is dissolved.' Private trade is difficult to suppress, especially as the Company are too indulgent to some offenders. Remarks on Kerridge, Browne, Fetiplace, and others. The debts at court. Proceedings in Persia. The Portuguese in a strong position there by their possession of Ormus. 'To surprise or take their seate by force is not easely done. I confesse that were an end of the question; but it will cost a great chardge, and such enterprises are uncerteyne; and after it would engage you into a warr.' He thinks negotiations in Europe the best course. As regards trade in Persia, they must not rely on the sale of cloth and other English goods. Spices and porcelain from Bantam will sell to advantage; also sugar, calicoes, steel, and other Indian commodities. The rest must be supplied by money. They must not forget 'the distast of the Grand Signior', who will lose by any diversion of the trade, 'hee reaping as much by custome as the Sha by the prime comoditie.' Steel is engrossed by his waterworks scheme and refuses to help in Persia. Roe will do his best for that trade as long as there is a chance of success. Steel's other projects. His wife and the workmen he brought with him. Captain Towerson and his wife are disappointed in their hopes, and angry with Roe for hindering their private trade. Notes on the presents sent. Their value depreciated by the sale on low terms of the goods brought by the sailors and others. The natives are fickle in their taste. 'They imitate every thing wee bring, and embroder now as well as wee.' Sends a list of suitable goods and presents; 'but noe man can advise certeynly except upon jewells.' Thanks them for some gifts. Had intended to return by this fleet, 'but your earnest desier prevayles above myne owne occasions.' He thanks them also for procuring the letter to him from King James.[1] Notes on the value of pearls and other jewels. 'I give you assurance you may sell [pearls] for 50,000*l.* yearly ready mony, and for as much more in any sort of stones by mee specifyed; and this way only

[1] See *The Embassy*, p. 556.

rayse a stock, and your free recourse bee desiered by the King and Prince and great men; and if they are pleased, the crie of a million of subjects would not bee heard.' Will fully acquaint them on his return of 'all the trafiques of India'. 'Ther is no complaynt by the Mogolls subjects that wee buy not their comoditie, but contrarie that wee buy so much that their owne merchants want for the Red Sea. I knowe it true. Wee have raysd the price of all wee deale in, and now wee feare the Dutch will make it woorse.' Two special dangers: the prevalence of pirates, such as the two ships set out by Sir Robert Rich and Philip Barnardi[1]; if measures be not taken to prevent such expeditions 'you will have the seas full and your trade in India is utterly lost and our lives exposed to pledge in the hands of Moores. I am loath to lie in irons for any mans faults but myne owne.' 'The second is the Dutch. They wrong you in all parts and grow to insuffrable insolencies.... You must speedelye looke to this maggat; els, wee talke of the Portugall, but these will eate a woorme in your sides. I neede not counsell you which way; only advise you never to joyne stock to profitt and losse, for their garrisons, chardges, losses by negligence will engage you to beare part of their follyes for no profitt. But your accord must bee by a stint at those parts common to you both, and agreement to what ports you may resort without offence one to the other. If they keepe you out of the Moluccoes by force, I would beat them from Surat to requite it.' Has just received letters overland from Persia, by which he finds Connock's deception. Learns also that the *Anne* cannot go to Jask on her way to the Red Sea. Rumour of an outbreak of the Muhammadans at Ormus. Possibly this may encourage the Shah to take that fortress; 'which by a little help might bee effected, and for him easy by our assistance; without joyning, very difficult for either of us.' The Spanish ambassador has been refused an audience, after getting as far as Cambay. Steel's insolence and falsehood. Trouble about his wife. 'You see I desier noe weomens company, but labour to leave such incumberances behynd.' 'The King is anew gone into the woods,' and Roe must follow. 'What conclusion I shall have I cannot presage. Hee is good to mee; his sonne latly better, who is absolute king. Hee hath granted

[1] See *Letters Received*, vol. vi. introd., p. xxix, and *The Embassy*, p. 420, &c.

mee a few priviledges, and reconfirmed our trade and liberties at Suratt, but will heare of noe more ports.' If he can shortly obtain his 'desiers of universall priviledges that shalbe of power in all parts of his dominion, and recover our debts', he will retire and rest until the arrival of the next fleet. 'If not, I will take my leave and bee ready at Suratt to meete with the ship I expect from the Red Sea, who shall both pay mee all that is due and make those conditions bee offered which now I seeke with despayre. Assure you, I knowe these people are best treated with the swoord in one hand and caducean in the other.' Will always use his best endeavours in the Company's service. (*Endorsed* 'Receaved 4 January, 1618[19]'. 17½ *pp*. *Printed in 'The Embassy'*, p. 466.)

Enclosure.

ADVICE FOR GOODS FOR SURAT (*O. C.* 637).

Broadcloths, coral, quicksilver. No lead for two years. A little vermilion. No wine, hot waters [i. e. spirits], swords, glasses, 'nor anie such like trash.' Pearls, rubies, emeralds, &c., especially large and rich stones. Arras, cloth of gold and silver, gold lace, camlets, shirts of mail, embroidered coats of Indian fashion, buckler cases, quivers, cushions, great glasses, embroidered boxes, and some Norwich stuffs. For presents, once in three years (with a royal letter) will suffice. It is unnecessary to give so much, as the King is quite ready to purchase. Articles suitable for presentation. Spices, porcelain, Chinese cabinets, &c., will sell to as good profit as in England. Taffetas in demand. Of cochineal only a small quantity can be disposed of. Enamel in some demand. (*Copy*. 3 *pp*. *Printed in 'The Embassy'*, p. 485.)

SIR THOMAS ROE [AT AHMADĀBĀD] TO CAPTAIN PRING, FEBRUARY 14, 1618 (*O. C.* 613).

Has sent instructions for the Red Sea voyage (p. 19). Answers objections. Cannot advise as to the choice of a ship for England nor as to the disposal of the rest of the fleet. Warns him, however, not to keep too near the Malabar coast on his way to Bantam, 'for the

Vizeroy (as wee heare) prepares a fleete to goe about the Cape for the Coast of Cormandell and wilbe ready this month; yf you bee alone, it is not good to tempt them. Concerning the juncks of Diu, I understand that Mochrebchan and some Mogolls freight from thence. Wee cannot take notice of on mans from anothers that mingle with our enemies. I would not spare any of that port upon the best pretence. Our warienes wilbe to keepe the junck itselfe, to putt a merchant and purser upon it, untill returne to Suratt. If it bee prooved Mogolls goods, and that the King stirr in yt, I know this people—restitution alway makes peace, and wee shall have the advantage of some good condition for restitution, and make them feare to freight in the Portugalls and rather offer themselves to us. Untill wee show our selves a little rough and busye they will not bee sencible. The woemen[1] are almost arrived at court, but I hope I shall depart this towne before, the King goeing out suddenly, which makes mee now take my leave.' Roe sends Pring a small carpet as a present; also forwards a box of papers for England. Takes leave of him. *P.S.*—Commendations to others in the fleet. Requests his favour for John Hatch, master of the *Bee*. From letters just received he learns that no supply can be sent to Jask; and 'soe that unfortunate busines must lye in its wounds until better occasion'. Encloses instructions for the Red Sea, and has sent his servant Heynes to take part in the expedition. Complains of slanderous reports, especially by his late surgeon. Is surprised to see the minister, Mr. Golding, here [*see* p. 32]. He has come up without Roe's permission and shall be sent back. 'I expect noe more to heare from you, for the King is entering into the woods. The God of heaven blesse you and all your company, and send mee once more to live among men of honesty.' (*Signed copy.* 4 *pp. Printed in part in 'The Embassy'*, p. 489.)

ROE'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE RED SEA VOYAGE, [FEBRUARY 14, 1618] (*O. C.* 598).

The ship to be selected by Capt. Pring and a cargo provided for Dābhol and Mocha by Mr. Kerridge. To proceed to Dābhol, and, if necessary, compel the inhabitants to trade by surprising their

[1] Mrs. Steel, Mrs. Towerson, and Mrs. Hudson.

junk; this will 'force them to understand the interest of free commerce'. Then to sail for the Red Sea, and on the way to endeavour the capture of 'any jouncke of Diu or of any other porte under the dominion of the Portugall . . . or of any other people whatsoever beinge in league with our enemy, either of the Samorine or Decanines'. On arrival at Mocha a farmān must be obtained from the Governor of the province for the free sale of goods and the safe residence of the factors. He should also be asked to procure the Grand Signor's confirmation of these privileges. If trade be refused, they may force any vessels in the road to exchange goods with them. Merchandise belonging to Portuguese or to natives residing in Portuguese territory should be confiscated. The captain and cape merchant may agree with the Gujarātī traders to convoy their ships on suitable terms. On their return they are to detain the latter until the state of the English on shore be ascertained. Edward Heynes to be one of the factors sent. 'I have herewith sent you the Persians bill that oweth us money, livinge at Gulkhandah [*see* p. 33], that yf you meete with any juncke of Dabull, you may pay yourselfe and give them the bill to recover the debte of the Persian.' (*Copy, sent to the Company by Pring. 3 pp. There is a second among the O. C. Duplicates. Printed in 'The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe'*, p. 492.)

William Biddulph[1] at Ahmadābād to the Company, February 15, 1618 (*O. C.* 614).

He cannot give full information about the progress of their business, as all the letters, &c., go now to Roe, 'who will acquaint anye with what and when hee pleaseth.' Goods and presents sent from Surat to the royal camp. Little yet disposed of, except the great pearl, which Roe has sold to Āsaf Khān, it is feared at a loss. The other pearls remain on hand. 'Noe pearles here in request but those from ten carrat to thirty and soe to the greatest can be gott; and those not overbought will yeald proffitt and readye monye to

[1] Went out in Best's fleet in 1612, and was placed by Keeling in charge of the factory at the Mogul court. He returned to England in 1623, and was still living in Sept., 1635, when the Company remitted the freight on a bale of East India tobacco sent home to him as a present. Roe pronounced him to be 'faithfull . . . but a little opiniastre, and of good ordinary abilitye'. He was probably the writer of the letters from Aleppo and Jerusalem (1601-3) printed by Purchas in Book 8 of his second volume.

the valew of 10,000*l.* sterling for one yeare, provided they be perfect and orientall.' For the crimson French 'shagge' Āsaf Khān offers fifteen rupees the covado[1], 'which is an English yard within three inches.' 'The hangings and greatest parte of the rich embrodred goods are given to the Kinge, Prince, Asufchan, etc., with the pictures, globes and knives.' Wine and strong waters not in request. The window glass useless. The cochineal must be sold below cost. Bone lace and cutwork bands will not sell. Muscovy hides, kerseys, and cloth in no demand; but they may be able to barter part of the last for indigo. It would be advisable to forbear sending broadcloth next year, and not to invest in future in the commodities already mentioned or in swords, enamel, conyskins, lambskins, gloves, scarfs, &c. 'The fittest and best goods to rayse a some of money is greate pearle, verey large emeralds of the ould rocke (new worth little), ballast rubyes and perfect coullored rubyes. The Portingalls cheife trade is in these comodityes; I have knowne them to sell ballast rubyes for 7, 8, and 10,000*l.* starling apeece, present monye.' Three or four suits of fresh-coloured tapestry would sell; also a few velvets. The debts at court are slow in coming in, but he trusts to recover them in time. Blames Roe for not sending home Steel and his wife, as it is 'an article in your commission that who ever shall have a wife in these parts shall uppon knowledge thereof be forthwith dismissed of his place and service and sent home'. Roe's expenses. The King has departed for Māndū and Biddulph must follow him. *P.S.*—William Hemsall, the King's coachman[2], died about February 11. Disposal of his estate. (*Holograph. Endorsed* 'Receaved by the *Bull* the 13th February 1618[19]'. 2¾ *pp.*)

Sir Thomas Roe to King James, February 15, 1618 (*Public Record Office: East Indies*, vol. i. No. 58).

Humbly thanks His Majesty for his letter. Recounts briefly the negotiations in Persia. He has delivered the royal letters and

[1] Port. *covado* or cubit. The English appear to have adopted the term as the equivalent of the native *gaj*.

[2] He had come out with the coach brought by Roe for presentation to the Mogul, and had been taken into the service of the latter. Previously he had been employed by 'Dr. Farran and my Lord Bishopp of Coventrye and Lychfeild' (*Court Minutes*, Jan. 3, 1615).

presents to the Great Mogul, 'which were received with as much honor as their barbarous pride and custtooms affoord to any the like from any absolute prince, though far inferior to that respect due unto them. I have stroven, sometimes to displeasure, with their tricks of unmeasured greatenes rather then to endure any scorne. . . . I have sought to meyntayne upright Your Majesties greatenes and dignitie, and withall to effect the ends of the merchant; but these two sometymes cross one another, seeing ther is no way to treate with so monstrous overweening that acknowledgeth no equall. He hath written Your Majestie a lettre full of good woords, but barren of all true effect. His generall [commands?] are yet to publish; what hee will doe I know not. To article on eaven tearms he avoyds, and houlds mee to his owne customs of government by new firmans upon new occasions, in which hee is just and gracious.' Encloses a translation of Jahāngīr's letter, but retains the original until his return. He assures the King that he 'will not live and suffer Your Majesties royall name to bee diminished for any consideration; and for the success of my employment, that I will establish Your Majesties subjects in as good tearms for theire trafique and residences as any strangers or the naturalls themselves enjoy, or at last by our force teach them to know Your Majestie is lord of all the seeas, and can compell that by your power which you have sought with curtesie; which this King cannot yett see for swelling'. The Portuguese 'rather enviously hinder us then like noble enemies hurte us'; yet 'want of a peace with them (which by your royall authoritie were easyly commanded) makes all these trades of Indya and hopes of Persia heavy and dangerous to the undertakers'. (*Copy in Roe's hand.* 1 *p. Printed in* '*The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*', p. 495; *also in the introduction* (p. xxvii) *of the* '*Calendar of State Papers, East Indies*, 1617–21'.)

THE GREAT MOGUL TO KING JAMES, [FEBRUARY, 1618] (*Brit. Mus. Addl. MS.* 4155, *f.* 100).

Salutations and compliments. He has received the letters and presents forwarded by the hands of Sir Thomas Roe; and has given 'my generall command to all the kyngdoms and ports of my

dominions to receive all the merchants of the English nation as the subjects of my frend; that in what place soever they choose to live they may have reception and residence to their owne content and safety, and what goods soever they desire to sell or buy, they may have free libertie without any restraynt; and at what port soever they shall arrive, that neyther Portugall nor any other shall dare to molest their quiett; and in what cytty soever they shall have residence, I have commanded all my governors and capteyns to give them freedome answerable to their owne desires, to sell, buy, and to transporte into their countrie at theire pleasure'. He hopes King James will order his merchants to bring 'all sorts of rareties and rich goods fitt for my pallace', and will write by every opportunity, 'that our frendship may bee enterchanged and eternall.' (*Translation, in Roe's hand.* 1 *p.* *Printed in 'The Embassy'*, p. 557.[1])

Sir Thomas Roe at Ahmadābād to Sir Thomas Smythe, Governor of the Company, February 16, 1618 (*Public Record Office: East Indies*, vol. i. No. 59).

He fears he will not be able to effect much in India. 'Ther is no treaty wher ther is soe much prid, nor no assurance wher is no fayth. All I can doe is to serve present turns. The people are weary of us. The King hath no content, who expects great presents and jewells, and reguards no trade but what feeds his unsatiable appetite after stones, rich and rare peices of any kind of arte. . . . Feare only keepes us in; and untill they feele us once more and that his owne subjects petition for us, wee shall never obteyne more then to run out in a chardgable trade, with much servitude. My employment is nothing but vexation and trouble; little honor, lesse profitt.' He has decided to remain another year, since Smythe wishes it. It will not be necessary in future to send presents in the name of the King. The control they have given him over their servants will cause him 'trouble and envy', but he will do his best. He has induced Kerridge to remain. 'I must say truth: his payns is very great and his parts not ordinarie; only hee loves dominion.' Thanks the Company and Smythe for the 'tokens' sent him. Requests a payment to Christopher Brooks on his

[1] Where will be found a note on other versions of this letter.

account. State of affairs in Persia. Troubles with Richard Steel, Captain Towerson, and others. (*Copy.* 3 *pp.* *Printed in part in 'The Embassy'*, p. 498.)

WILLIAM NICHOLLS AT ACHIN TO GEORGE BALL AT BANTAM, FEBRUARY 26, 1618 (*O. C.* 623).

Affairs at Achin. 'The Kynge of Sollimatt[1] sent me a letter and present of two sorts of pantathoes[2] per the captain of his shipe, importing that if the Inglish will settle factorye there, they shall have all kynd entertainement and freedome of trad, which the Hollonders have oft times petitioned for, but still denyed by experience of their delings in other places; and knowing that blachioes[3], chindeys[4], and gobarrs[5] are there to be had with other comodities, which otherwise the Hollonders would not keepe so neare there, I resolve itt a place worth the looking after, as from Meslepotan to send first over land, and thereafter att your pleasure to determyne; but, by the way, if factories be noe better stocked then this hath beene this three yeares, places of trade were better left then sought after.' News from Tiku. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

INSTRUCTIONS FROM CAPT. PRING, FEBRUARY 27, 1618, TO ROBERT ADAMS, MASTER OF THE *BULL*, HOMEWARD BOUND FROM SURAT (*O. C.* 624).

He is to take charge of the ship and men, while Nicholas Bangham will be responsible for the cargo. Nautical directions for the voyage. To be cautious in going into Table Bay, lest Portuguese or pirates be there. Certain quilted coats, made for the mariners by the Company's orders to keep them warm, are to be served out

[1] This is evidently identical with the 'Collimatt' and 'Coungematt' of *Letters Received*, vol. iii. p. 233; vol. iv. p. 70; vol. v. p. 295. Some place on the Coromandel Coast is meant, but in what part is doubtful.

[2] *Pintadoes*, 'painted' cloths. In 1655 John Evelyn saw in Lady Mordaunt's house at Ashtead 'a roome hung with *Pintado*, full of figures greate and small, prettily representing sundry trades and occupations of the Indians, with their habits'.

[3] Some unidentified variety of piece-goods. In a letter written from Masulipatam a few months before (*Letters Received*, vol. v. p. 294) it is called 'balacha'.

[4] Chintzes.

[5] Compare *Letters Received*, vol. ii. pp. 32, 58, and vol. iv. p. 35.

on drawing near the coast of England. He is to take care that the privateers' men sent home as prisoners do not make their escape. (*Holograph.* 1¾ *pp.*)

THE REV. PATRICK COPLAND[1], ABOARD THE *ROYAL JAMES* AT SWALLY, TO THE COMPANY, MARCH 4, 1618 (*O. C.* 625).

Events of the voyage from the Cape to Surat. The *Bee* sent to Persia. Intelligence brought by her on her return. 'The second of January the *Lyon*[2] was fired by a peece of ordinance and so burnt in our sight. This was the most lamentable fire that ever I saw, but blessed be God there was no hurt or losse to any of the fleet save of the ship alone and our poore mens chests and cloathes that were in her, and one or two men that were burnt alive and three or four scoarched, who within a few dayes after dyed. Upon this accident I tooke occasion to speake to the whole fleet (who every sabbath day while wee continued in harbour came to heare mee, for all the tyme Mr. Golding, your other preacher, was the gentlewomens chaplein at Surat) and to exhort them to reconciliation with God, and bowels of compassion towards their poore brethren, which speech through Godes blessing so wrought upon all, that wee gathered about fourtie one poundes for reliefe of our poore men, which was distributed according to their necessities. Wee have gathered besides in this our voyage for Wapping church[3] much

[1] Chaplain in Pring's fleet. He first went to the East as preacher with Captain Best, and some extracts from his account of that voyage were published by Purchas (vol. i. p. 466). A short memoir of him was published by Mr. E. D. Neill at New York in 1871.

[2] Not the Company's ship of that name, but one of the two interloping vessels captured by the fleet in the preceding autumn (see *Letters Received*, vol. vi. pp. xxix, 173). For details of the catastrophe, see p. 31.

[3] The building of a chapel-of-ease for Wapping—a swampy district just to the east of the Tower, where the miserable hovels of the sailors huddled under the protection of the river bank—was sanctioned in August, 1615. The cost, about 1,200*l.*, was defrayed by subscriptions, the East India Company giving 50*l.*; and the building was consecrated in July, 1617. The money collected on the present occasion came too late to aid in the erection of the chapel, and was therefore applied to another purpose. Seymour, in his *Survey of London* (1735), in describing the building, says: 'On the South Side is a pretty Gallery of the Tuscan Order, with these Words subscribed: "This Gallery was built with Part of the Benevolence that was given for the Use of this Chapel by the Mariners that went to the East-Indies, Anno 1616, under the Command of Captain Martin Pring, in the *Royal James*, procured by the Care of Mr. Rowland Coitmore, then Master of the said Ship, and who was Warden of this Chapel, Anno 1622."

about 200*l.*, which as it came freely and voluntarily from our people wee hope your Worship and Worshipful Company will as willingly pay the same.' Ill behaviour of Mr. Golding, the other chaplain. 'Such preachers as this can never persuade Japheth to come and dwel in the tents of Shem; wel may they harden them in their idolatry.... Now I should make an end, but that I cannot passe by a memorable accident, whereof Sir Thomas Roe, His Majesties Ambassador here, in one of his letters to mee maketh mention of.[1] Not long since (saith he) here lived a Raja, or great prince, much favoured of the King, who in his life and profession was a desperate atheist and contemner of God, and in all publique disputes gloriously maintained his sensual thoughts. Sitting among his women one of them pluckt off an hayre that grew on his breast, which being fast rooted caused a drop of blood to issue. The wound was not regarded; in few dayes it gangrened incurably and almost miraculously. He, seeing his estate, sent to take leave of [the] King, and receiving from him by the mediation of some great persons many comfortable messages, replied: "No, I must dye; you all know that I have been a despiser of the Godhead and would never acknowledge Him, but opposed myself against the Disposer of all creatures. I was a souldier; who would have thought I should have had a wound lesse honorable then of a lance or sword? But now I confesse that great God whom I scorned needed no greater a weepon then a hayre to revenge Himself and His name upon a wretched man, and hath wounded mee with scorne to my confusion." Happie wound if it had strooke his heart aswel with the worship of that God as with the knowledge of Him; but however, honourable and glorious is the profession, worthie to be recorded and written in the foreheads of all atheists.' (*Holograph.* 2½ *pp.*)

In 1695 the district was separated from Whitechapel, and the chapel became a parish church (St. John's). It was demolished about 1760, when the present church was erected a short distance away. The gallery was not transferred to the new building, and there is now no record of the benevolence of Pring's sailors.

[1] Roe himself repeated the story to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, in his reply, expressed his appreciation of this 'marvellous example of the power of God upon rebellious atheists' (*Cal. S. P., E. Indies*, 1617–21, p. 247). It is also to be found in the narratives of Coryat (*Purchas*, vol. i. p. 600) and Terry, and in a scarce pamphlet in the British Museum, entitled *A True Relation . . . of Strange and Admirable Accidents* (London, 1622).

SIR THOMAS ROE AT BROACH TO CAPTAIN PRING, MARCH 10, 1618 (*O. C.* 628).

Has not heard from him or Surat for more than a month. He is sorry to hear that the *Anne* 'hath no other cargason then the refuse of India'. 'I am confident on the grounds that Surratt will never be a trade unles the Red Sea both supply yt and awe the Guzeratts.' As to sending a ship to Masulipatam. 'I heare that a fleet is preparing for the Dutch plantacion [Pulicat] below yt, and I feare a small ship cannot stay in safety. . . . Breefely, that factory is worth nothing,' but he will not discourage a supply if Pring thinks it desirable. Punishment of his late surgeon. As to the *Anne* calling at Dābhol. Is glad Salbank is going chief merchant in her. She is not to wait upon the Prince's junk 'butt loose her and leave her to her fortune'. (*Copy.* 1¾ *pp.* *Printed in 'The Embassy'*, p. 501.)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, ABOARD THE *ROYAL JAMES*, TO THE COMPANY, MARCH 12, 1618 (*O. C.* 629).

In continuation of the factors' letter finished at Surat [*not extant*]. Troubles with the officers of the custom-house detained them till March 4, and then the need of purchasing additional indigo to fill up the *Bull* caused further delay. In lading, some bales of calicoes were damaged by water and had to be kept back. One hundred 'mamoodes[1]' advanced to the factors going home for provision ot necessaries. Thirteen chests of rials sent to Bantam in the *Royal James*, three to Sumatra in the *Gift*, and two to Masulipatam in the *Bee*. The fleet is now about to sail. (*Holograph. Endorsed* 'Receaved the 4 January 1618[19]'. 1¼ *pp.*)

CONSULTATION ABOARD THE *ROYAL JAMES*, MARCH 12, 1618 (*O. C.* 630).

It is decided that the *Anne* shall sail direct to the Red Sea, as the time is too far spent to permit of her touching at Dābhol as desired by Roe. Signed by Martin Pring, Thomas Kerridge, and Thomas Rastell. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

[1] *Mahmūdīs*, the usual currency in Gujarāt; a silver coin of the value ot nearly an English shilling.

CAPTAIN ANDREW SHILLING[1] AT SWALLY TO THE COMPANY, MARCH 12, 1618 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2086, *f.* 38.)

He is about to sail for Mocha. If the goods he carries 'be nott vendable and that an honest trade upon equall tearmes cannott be procured, then I hoop powder and shoot, Sir Henery Middelltons comodittie, will passe'. He is to return to Surat from Mocha to lade for England. By report Roe is minded to go home in the *Anne*. Praises Capt. Pring. (*Holograph. Seal.* 1 *p.*)

COMMISSION FROM CAPTAIN MARTIN PRING TO CAPTAIN ANDREW SHILLING FOR THE VOYAGE OF THE *ANNE* TO THE RED SEA, MARCH 14, 1618 (*O. C.* 632).

He is to follow strictly the instructions (*see* p. 19) given by Roe for this voyage. (*Signed copy.* ½ *p.*)

MATTHEW DUKE, IN PRING'S FLEET AT SEA, TO THE COMPANY, MARCH 16, 1618 (*O. C.* 634).

Account of the voyage from England to Swally, whence he was sent up to Ahmadābād with the convoy. Muqarrab Khān engrossed all the indigo, by which means the factors were much hindered in their purchases. Duke and James Bickford were sent to Cambay, but found the indigo there not worth buying. Returned by way of 'Doulkey[2]', but could get none there. Set out from Ahmadābād for Surat on February 5 with a caravan of goods. Roe is 'a very noble gentleman, both discreet and learned, and such an on as is very carfull of your good and wellfaire and very frugall in all his expence'; but Duke thinks an ambassador unnecessary. Steel has gone for Agra. His marriage. Long detention of the ships at Swally for want of provision of stock beforehand. (*Holograph. Endorsed* 'Receaved the 3 January 1618[19]'. 5 *pp.*)

[1] Commander of the *Royal Anne*. He is stated in the *Dict. Nat. Biogr.* to have been originally a petty officer in the royal navy, and to have risen by 1603 to be one of the six chief masters of the navy. Elsewhere he is mentioned as commanding the *Angel* in a voyage to Constantinople when Sir Thomas Glover was Agent there (1607–11). He went out to India with Pring's fleet in 1617, and returned with Roe two years later. His subsequent voyage and death off Jask are described in the present volume.

[2] Dholka, twenty-two miles south-west of Ahmadābād.

CAPTAIN MARTIN PRING[1], ABOARD THE *ROYAL JAMES*, TO THE COMPANY, MARCH 18, 1618 (*O. C.* 635).

Account of the outward voyage. Capture of Rich's privateers. Reached Swally September 24, 1617. Silver to the value of 32,168 rials landed and dispatched, part to Agra by bills of exchange and part to Ahmadābād in specie. 'Soone after our arrivall the merchaunts of the Dutch factory came to congratulate our safe arrivall, and withall to condole the losse of the *Rotterdam*, a shippe of 1000 tonnes, with her pinnace, both being cast away upon the coast of India nere unto Gondavee[2] by comminge to timely. The one shippe was put on shoare the 18th, the other the 19th of July, which was two monethes before the westerly monson was ended. The captain of the greate ship, Peeter Vanderbrooke, with his marriners marched from hence by land to Messolapatan, in which his passadge hee was oftentimes besett by the country people and had divers conflictes with them, and at lenght escaped thither with the losse of a few men.' Leak in the *James*. The sailors mutinous for prize-money, but appeased by a grant of one month's pay. 'I was in good hope at first that our smaller shippes might have roade in the river of Suratt, and by that meanes our grocest goodes to be sent up by boates, to ease the grate chardge of portadge by land; but I have since caused a discovery thereof to be made and finde yt so full of shoalds that the smallest shippe wee have can ride no where afloate to commaund the river. I have also discovered the coast on the wester side of the Gulfe of Cambaia from Goga unto Jungee [possibly Janjmer, near Goapnath Point], with many of the sandes and shoales that lye in the entraunce of the said baie, a description whereof [*not extant*] I send herewith unto your Worships for the benefitt of succeeding voyadges. We finde a fayre channell over from Swally unto Goga, and a bould coast from thence unto Jungee. All that came short of my expectation was the shoalds of the bay of Goga, our

[1] The commander of the 1617 fleet. For an account of him see *The Embassy of Sir T. Roe*, p. 420. His journal of the voyage will be found in *Purchas* (vol. i. p. 631). There is a second copy of this letter among the *O. C. Duplicates*.

[2] Gandevi, about thirty miles south of Surat. For the Dutch shipwreck see *Letters Received*, vol. vi; *The Embassy*, p. 404; and Van den Broecke's *Reysen* (1648). Pring is wrong as to the name of the ship, which was the *Middelburg*, not the *Rotterdam*.

shipps being not floaty enough to ride neare the shoare to land any goodes in safety. The daunger in passing money to Amadavarre caused me to hasten this discovery, I being informed that Goga was within three daies jornay of Cambaia, so that yf wee could land our money there the conveyaunce would bee cheape, secure and speedy, whereas from Suratt yt is chargeable, tedious and full ot daunger. Yf ever we have occasion to leave the porte of Swally and make use of Goga, there must bee a small vessell of good defence to ride within the great shippes, or els the Portugall friggatts passe at theyr pleasure betwene them and the shoare and so put them by all theyr business.' Consultation as to the lading of a ship for England. 28,000 more rials landed for this purpose. The *Bee* dispatched to Persia on November 14 with Edward Monnox and Francis Tipton, but without any cargo. 'The want of supply this yeare I hope wilbe fayrely excused to the Shaw, and the next I doubt not but your Worships will send such a cargason as may convert the whole trade to England and then yt wilbe worth all the other in India, for by that meanes wee may come to serve other nations at our owne price; but yf yt bee not roundly followed at first wee shall in time finde the Dutch to interlope [1], and when they once enter all is spoyled, for they are better able to serve them with all sortes of spices at cheaper rates and at greater quantities than wee, and those commodities will bid any nation welcome to Persia.' Thinks it will be necessary in future to send the whole fleet to Jask. 'I understand by Mr. Hatch that there is a salte water creeke in the bay of Jasques, as by his description herewith sent may appeare plainely [2], having 11 or 12 foot water at the spring upon the barr and three or four faddam within at a lowe water. At this place a small shippe might ride all the yeare longe, occasion so requiring, yf there were but a little forte builte by the water side to repell the forces of the Portugall, who cannot approach the place but with friggattes and small vessels, and those are as much to be feared as so many butterflies. But when I consider the remotenes of Jasques from

[1] An early instance of this interesting word.

[2] Among the charts published by Alexander Dalrymple is a 'Plan of the Road of Jasques, from a MS. book in the Bodleian Library', with 'Notes by Mr. John Hatch, Master in the *Bee*, 1617'. This is no doubt the survey here referred to. See also *Letters Received*, vol. vi. p. 287.

Spahan and the chief marte townes of Persia, meethinkes wee should not alwaies be confined to that place, but rather seeke into the Gulfe for some roade where wee may remayne neare unto our buisines, somewhat to ease the tedious toyle and great expence in so great a journay by land. While the *Bee* was absent I ymployed the *Fraunces* and the *Lyon* by turnes tò the southwards the better to discover the coast with the shoales adjacent, and withall to looke out for Portugall forces, because I had advize of the arrivall of El Conde de Rotundo[1], a man sett forth with no small hope of great actions, but as yet wee cannot heare of any preparations against us, which gives me hope that hee will prove a very quiet man. The 30th November the caffilo[2] of Cambaya passed by in sight of us, to the nomber of 150 friggatts, and 17 sayle of the Armada friggatts came by us about a moneth before to wafte[3] the caffilo in theyr returne to Goa. These were all (a few stragling friggatts excepted) that came in our sight all the time wee were in Swally; but after wee were out over the barre and reddy to departe, which was the 27th of February, another caffillo of 230 passed by us ageine. January the 13th the *Lyon*, comminge over the barre of Swally, shott a piece of ordinaunce out of hir gonneroome, where the fire out of hir toutchole (as yt is most likely) tooke hold of the bandeleros[4] and other loose powder, that blew up hir deckes abafte the maste and sett hir soddenly of a light fire, which grew instantly so violent that none of the boates durst approach hir. Three or four of the men were so schorched that yt cost them theyr lives, and the rest that escaped lost all that they had. Shee drove in betwene the *James* and the *Anne* and at lenght the winde forced hir a shoare. Shee burnt downe to the buildge, consuming almost all thinges but hir ordinaunce. Here was the wonderfull mercy of God shewen in preserving the rest. God give us grace to be truly thankfull for His greate deliveraunce. The 17 January the *Bee* returned from Persia, bringing the Kinge of Persia his letter and a packett of Mr. Connockes, and a few papers of coppies of letters, with a piece of an accompte to little purpose.' Short supply of

[1] Dom João Coutinho, Conde de Redondo, Viceroy, 1617–19.

[2] Arabic *qāfila*, a caravan. Here it means the fleet of light Portuguese vessels that came regularly to Gujarāt from Goa.

[3] Convoy.

[4] Bandoleers, or belts holding musket charges.

indigo from Ahmadābād, in consequence of which they are obliged to send home the *Bull* in lieu of the larger *Gift*. Dispatch of the *Anne* to the Red Sea. Vagaries of Richard Steel and his wife. 'At the instant request of Mr. Steel I gave leave to Mr. Gouldinge, the preacher of the *Anne*, to keepe his[1] wife company at Surat in his absence, where he remayned three or four monethes, during which time he was loth to trouble the English house with to many sermons. When the gentleweemen were to departe from Surat to goe for Amadavare, hee was straungely importunate with me to give him leave to goe, and Mr. Steel as desirous to have his company. Both there requestes I utterly denied, commaunded him to stay, and gave chardg to Mr. Kerridge to stop his passadge. For a daie or twoe he dissembled his intent, in which time hee fitted himselfe secretly with Moores apparell, which being procured and all thinges els fitt for a fugitive, hee takes leave of Mr. Kerridge, pretending to come aboard the *Anne*. Hee was no sooner over the river but hee altered his course, put on his Moores apparell, and took his way for Amadavar. The Lord Ambassador, hearing of his arrivall and hearing by my letter the manner of his departure from Suratt, sent for him, where after a sharpe reprehension he advized him to returne. This extravagant, having made many fayr promises to His Lordship, tooke his leave with all speed to come aboard the ships, being accompanied with Mr. Bickford, Mr. Heynes and Henry Dodsworth. The second daies journey comming downe, hee was desirous to ride before to showe his horse, which indeed was only to pay them with a slippe, for from that daie to this wee never heard more of him, but wee suppose that hee doth follow the leskar[2] in company of Mr. Steel and his wife; yet I hope His Lordship will finde him out and dispeed him away that hee may not disgrace our religion and country. When I consider the vanity of this man, I praise God that sent Mr. Copeland [*see* p. 25] with me, whose virtuous life, suting so well with his sound doctrine, is the only meanes to draw men unto God, and that ought to bee your Worships chiefest care in these voyadges to choose men that are approved for theyr

[1] Steele's. On Mr. Golding's escapade see also p. 19. He appears to have remained at Surat as chaplain, as the factors there announce his death in a letter dated Feb. 18, 1620.

[2] The camp (*lashkar*) of the Emperor.

sincerity, that they may bee good examples to theyr flocke. . . . The strayed minister is since retourned to his flocke. I have pardoned his rebellions, negligences and ignoraunces, in hopes hee wilbecome a new man.' Disposal of the various vessels of the fleet. 'The 12 of March [1618] wee left the road of Swally. . . . The next day [March 17], the wind veering up northerly, wee dispeeded the *Anne* for the Red Sea, because the time of the yeare was to farre spent to toutch at Dabull. The 18 the *Bull* departed from us. Never any English ship went home so late. God Almighty send hir a speedy passadge, with a safe arrivall in England.' (*Holograph signed copy. Endorsed as received from Bantam by the* Lesser James *in* 1619, *the original having previously come home in the* Bull. 8½ *pp.*)

SIR THOMAS ROE AT 'CROWDA[1]' TO THE FACTORS AT SURAT, APRIL 26, 1618 (*O. C.* 645).

Hopes to see them at Broach. Miscellaneous topics. Sprage's mission to Golconda to recover a debt from a fugitive Persian, who had been trusted with some cloth by the Agra factors. (*Signed copy.* 1½ *pp. Printed in* '*The Embassy*', p. 503.)

TWO DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE RED SEA TRADE (*O. C.* 648).

A. '*The translation of the Governors Firmaen geven us for Traide in the Towne of Mocha; verbatum as itt is written in the Arrabe tonge.*'[2]

'A faithfull and parfett firmaen geven by the grace of God to the worthey and great captain of the English shipe, Andrewe Shillinge, and to Joseph Salbancke, merchante, and all suche as are come with him att this preasent, and to all the gentell natione of the Englishe as shall come to this porte hearafter. for thear good usadge and frendley entertaynement, by the grace of God and by the faithe wee have in our holley Prophet, with the licence of our great lorde and kinge, to whome the greate God of the world give longe life, by the fidilleytie, truethe and authoreytie

[1] Karodra, eleven miles from Surat on the Burhānpur road (see *The Embassy*, p. 503).
[2] Printed by Purchas (vol. i. p. 625) (with a few verbal differences), in Heynes's account of the voyage. There is also a copy (slightly varying) among the *O. C. Duplicates*.

of the greate Vizear of Sinan[1], Mahomed Pauchaue, whome the greate God give greate strenght and power in his kingdome, and by the faithfullnes, true meaninge and command of mee, Ragab Baggae[2], now Governor of the towne of Mocha, to bee geven the greate nation of the Englishe with all faithfullnes. I, the Governor, Ragab Bagga, doe give libertey and licence to the English nation to come heather to this porte, to receave frendly entertaynment, to bringe ashoare there goods, to by and sell with all freedum, to carrye all suche goods thay buy aboard without lett ore hindrance; and haveing maid contracte with them that for all goods thay land thay shall paye three per cent. in goods (not in monye), and for all suche good[s] thay buy and carrye aboard thay shall paye three per cent. in redye monye, so itt bee merchandize and not provision for ther shipes, victual ore suche licke; that thay shall paye neather more nor lesse but as itt is agreed and contracted by our agreement; that the inhabitance of this towne and people of the countrey, either Turcke ore Arrab, shall not injure them, but have all libertye to their contente; and that this my firmaen and contracte is geven them with a good harte and true meanynge to see itt performed, I witnes the truthe beefore the most high God and our holey Prophet. Sined with my chap the 14 daye of May in the yeare of the bearthe[3] of our Prophet Mahamed 1027.' (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

B. '*The coppye of the letter sente up to the Pauchau of Sinan.*'[4]

Mocha, June 17, 1618.

Having come, by command of Sir Thomas Roe, English Ambassador to the Great Mogul, 'to seecke frendly traide and commerce . . . and also to free the seas of pierates and men of ware which may roob and injoure the traiders that useth to this porte,'

[1] Sana, the capital of the Yemen, and seat of the Pasha in charge of the province. The latter is still called Zenan.

[2] Rajab Āghā, of whom see *The Journal of John Jourdain*, p. 77.

[3] This is of course an error. The Muhammadan era commences from the *Flight* of the Prophet, or rather from the first day of the year in which the Flight occurred. A.H. 1027 corresponds with A.D. 1617-18. Purchas queries the date given, which appears from Heynes's narrative to be about a fortnight too late. Probably 14 Jumādā I is intended, i.e. April 29.

[4] This was the complimentary letter carried up to Sana by Salbank.

they desire his farmān for their good usage and entertainment and for permission to settle factories at 'Sinan, Ties[1], Mocha, Aden' or other towns at their discretion. Request the Pasha's confirmation of all such articles, &c., already granted to the English by the Grand Signor; also a written promise that he will procure the Grand Signor's farmān approving the same against their next coming to this port. Signed by Andrew Shilling, Joseph Salbank, Edward Heynes, and Richard Barber. (*Copy*. 1 *p*.)

TRANSLATION OF THE FARMĀN FROM THE PASHA OF SANA (*O. C.* 671).[2]

'In the name of God, this letter written with the words of truthe of the most highe God to all nationes, governors, and officers of this people under my goverment. God keepe you all. Knowe you that wee have geven our faithfull firmaen into the handes of Signor Andrew Shillinge, captain of the good Englishe shippe called the *Ann Royall*, att this presente ridinge in the roade of Mocha, and to Joseph Salbancke his frend, which are come to this porte with there frends and acquantance Edward Heynes and Richard Barbar, merchants, att Mocha, and to anye of ther natione hearafter to come and goe to this porte ore any other portes within our goverment, with ther shippes and goods afforesayd, and there to buy and sell all maner of their marchandize freely and with all contente; and wee doe further give them our firmaen, in the fayghte of our greate lorde and in the fayghte of our Mahamed, and in the fayght of our greate kinge, whome God allwayes presearve, and in the fayghte of my selfe, Governor of Sinan, the Pauchaue, free lisence to sell and buye and to bringe here and to all other portes as freely and quietly as any of the traiders and merchants which comes to that porte of what natione soe eaver, and doe consent and agree with them to paye for custome three per centum when they come in, in goods, and what goods soeaver thay shall buye to carrye awaye, three per

[1] Taiz, fifty-five miles east-north-east of Mokha. The factors had probably heard of it through Middleton, who, in his journey up to Sana, had passed through 'Ties, which is foure dayes journey from Moha' (Purchas, vol. i. p. 254).

[2] A slightly different version is printed by Purchas in his first volume (p. 626). There is also a copy among the *O. C. Duplicates*.

centum lickewise to paye in monye. And further wee doe freelye give them all other priveledges or libertye which is granted unto theire nation in Astambole[1]; and doe promise and sweare in the true waye of annothe[2] and geven you here, thereby to knowe that wee will keepe our word in this agreement, that thay shall paye neather more nor lesse, and that thay shall have neyther injurey nor hurte nor anye discontente by anye pearsone ore pearsones what soeaver in our goverment, and lickwise that noe injuery nor hurte bee done unto anye of their goods what soeaver; and that this is my faithfull meanynge, this firmaen which comes to your hands shall bee as a witnes of the truthe. Written this 18th daye of July.[3] Geven under my seale in Sinan. Mahamed Pauchaue. In the yeare 1027 of our Prophet Mahamed.' (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

AFZAL KHĀN[4], DĪWĀN OF PRINCE KHURRAM, TO [THE GOVERNOR OF SURAT,] JULY 13, 1618 (*T eaties*, vol. i. p. 61).

'Whereas I wrote you to take Coja Arab's house for the Prince, being anciently his mint-house[5], and to give the English another, I will you to give them as good a house as that, such as may content them, and to use them like friends, and in no case to let them be unprovided of a house to remove unto.'[6] (*Copy made in* 1789. 1 *p.*)

[1] Constantinople. [2] An oath.

[3] This date does not altogether harmonize with Heynes's narrative, where it is stated that Salbank received the farmān two days after his arrival, which is inferred to have happened about the end of June. As in a previous case (p. 34) we may conjecture that 18 Rajab is really meant, corresponding to July 1.

[4] Mullā Shukrullah Shīrāzī, the Prince's faithful servant and friend, was given the title of Afzal Khān by Jahāngīr when on behalf of his master he presented Prince Karan at court in token of the submission of Udaipur (1616). He died at Lahore in January, 1639. The dilapidated tomb on the east bank of the river at Agra, called the Chīnī-kā-rauza, is supposed to mark his place of burial.

[5] Surat is mentioned in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (vol. i. p. 31) as being a mint-town for silver and copper. The mint appears to have been discontinued for some time, but (as will be seen from documents on a later page) was started again in 1620. The earliest Surat coin at the British Museum is dated A.H. 1033 (A.D. 1623-4); from that date they are frequent (Lane-Poole's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Mogul Emperors*).

[6] For a note on the English factory at this time see *The Embassy*, p. 510. The agreement with Khwāja Arab, dated May 27, 1616, for the lease of the house to the English for three years at 600 *mahmūdīs* per annum, will be found in *Letters Received*, vol. v. p. 74. Apparently the owner had just died, and the house had escheated to the Prince.

TRANSLATION OF A FARMĀN OF PRINCE KHURRAM REGARDING THE ENGLISH FACTORY AT SURAT, AUGUST, 1618 (*O. C.* 675).

'There hath come to us a petition from the English resident in Suratt that there was a house belonging to Coja Arab Turbethee[1] lying in Suratt, for the which the sayd English have (as they affirme) given mony for the tyme of three yeares to the people of Coja Arab, and accordingly have taken a writin[g] in testemony of the same of the sayd Coja Arab or his assignes. [Whereof?] take knowledge; and if it bee so, and that the owner of the sayd house bee content that the English shall remayne and abide in the sayd house, then is it our pleasure that they abide in the sayd house; but if the sayd English have not payd or given the sayd rent aforehand for the tyme of three yeares, but that they remayne therin by force, contrarie to his likinge, upon receipt hereof you shall putt the said English foorth therof, and de[liver] therof into the hands of the sonne of the sayd [Coja Arab to dispose?] therof according to his will; and in lieu ther[of you shall give the] sayd English another fitt house, such as shalbe to their content; and hereof signifie unto mee the answere of the premises.' (*In Roe's hand. Endorsed:* 'Translate of the firman for Coja Arabs house in Suratt; sent downe 3d. Aug., 1618.' *½ p. Printed in 'The Embassy'*, p. 506.)

NATHANIEL HALSTEAD AT BURHĀNPUR TO JOHN BANGHAM AT AGRA, AUGUST 7, 1618 (*O. C.* 676).

He and Robert Hutchinson were sent to this place 'in the begininge of the rayne' to sell some ivory and remit the proceeds to Agra; but hitherto have not succeeded in disposing of their goods. Letters received two days ago from Broach state that 'the English are putt out of their house [at Surat], it beinge fallen to the Prince'; also rumours that Shilling has captured some prizes, and that the Portugals have fourteen ships and one or two hundred frigates at Damān, and have landed 3,000 men there. Sprage slandered Nicholas Bangham and others to Roe when the latter was here, 'and it is his Lordships quallitie to favore

[1] Probably Turbatī, i.e. of Turbat.

those that tell tales, though never such knaves.' Hence his making Sprage a merchant and dispatching him to Golconda to recover a debt. The Dutch from Agra were expected here before this. (*Holograph. Endorsed:* 'Received in Connowaye, the [ ] September, neere Agra, 1618.' *Seal.* 1 *p.*)

THE GREAT MOGUL TO KING JAMES, [AUGUST 8, 1618] (*Public Record Office: East Indies*, vol. i. Nos. 67 and 68).

Compliments. He has received with delight the King's letter of friendship and the presents which accompanied it; and has now issued orders that the English merchants 'bee given freedome and residence', and that none of his subjects shall injure or molest either them or their ships and goods. The care of this matter has been committed to Āsaf Khān, who has been instructed to grant the English all their desires. (1 *p. Printed in 'The Embassy'*, p. 559.)

SIR THOMAS ROE'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH PRINCE KHURRAM, AUGUST, 1618 (*O. C.* 678).[1]

Roe's draft of a farmān. 1. The Prince having 'received the English nation into his protection and favour', the local officials are to publish the accord and act in conformity. 2. As the Portuguese are 'common enemies to their peace and traficque, it shalbe lawfull for the English to land with their armes and to pass with them for defence of their persons and goods'. If the Portuguese assail the English ships, the Surat officials shall assist the latter with 'frigatts' and in all other ways. 3. The English are to be permitted to buy or hire houses in the Prince's ports, and dwell in them without disturbance. 4. The English ambassador is to be received at Surat with 'honor and curtesie', and well-housed and well-treated during his stay. 5. If the merchants fail to agree with their present landlord there, a portion of the money paid in advance

[1] In Roe's own hand. It is headed 'Articles proposed to the Prince Sultan Coronne, Lord of Amadavaz and Suratt, by the Ambassador, upon the breach with the Portugalls, August 15, 1618', and endorsed 'Articles and Treaty with the Prince, Amad., August, 1618'. The 'breach' referred to was probably caused by the demand of *cartas* money for the Queen's junk, which was resisted by the natives, with the result that the vessel lost her voyage (see *The Embassy*, p. 506).

is to be returned. 6. It shall be lawful for the English 'to land any sort of goods and to relade at their pleasure; and upon the land in any part to trade, traficque, buy and sell according to their owne will'. Abuses in the custom-house to be reformed. No duty to be levied on jewels or precious stones; and no tolls to be demanded on the way to or from the port. 7. The English to be allowed to live 'according to their owne religion and lawes' without interference. 8. Disputes among them to be regulated by their President. English fugitives are to be delivered up to the factory. Disputes between the English and 'any Moore or Banyan' are to be settled by the native authorities according to justice. 9. The linguist and brokers serving the English are not to be ill-treated for carrying out their instructions. 10. Presents shall be inspected at the custom-house, sealed by both parties, and then delivered to the English to send up to court at their pleasure. 11. 'In all causes of complaynt or controversie the Governors and Cazies[1] of the place should doe them speedy justice and protect them from all injuries or oppressions whatsoever and should ayd and entreat them as frends with curtesie and honor,' such being the command of the great King and the will of the Prince. Note by Roe that these demands are 'bare justice . . . and no more then the lawes of nations doth freely give to all strangers that arrive, without any contract'; and that if they be not accepted the responsibility for the consequences will be on the Prince. Roe adds that he had found himself obliged 'to relinquish many poynts often insisted upon, when I could gett nothing, and to make offer of these few as the most necessarie to settle a trade and which might give the least offence and might pass with ease, leaving the rest to the generall order of the Kyng to receive justice from our Procurador Generall'. After many disputes with Afzal Khān, the whole matter was discussed before the Prince, with the following result. The first article was accepted. As regards No. 2, the loan of frigates was agreed to, but the wearing of arms was restricted to the merchants of the factory and not more than ten others at a time, though Englishmen on convoy duty might retain their weapons for defence. For the third, the purchase or occupation of any house near the castle or the river was absolutely refused, but the English were to

[1] Hind. (from Arabic) *qāzī*, 'a judge'—the *Cadi* of the *Arabian Nights*.

be assisted to rent a suitable dwelling in the interior of the city. The fourth was granted; also the fifth, but it was intimated that the tenancy of the present factory must in any case cease, partly because it was the old mint and partly because it stood against the great mosque. The sixth and seventh were agreed to. In respect to the eighth, a stand was made against the surrender of any Englishman who might turn Moor, but in the end the point was yielded to the ambassador's insistence. The ninth was accepted; also the tenth, with a proviso that anything passed as a present should pay duty afterwards if the English sold instead of presenting it. The eleventh was agreed to. Matters being thus settled, a farmān was drawn, sealed, and sent to Roe; but, to his disgust, on reading it he found several restrictions inserted and some of the concessions omitted. He therefore sent it back with a strong remonstrance and a threat that the next fleet should seize all shipping belonging to the Prince's ports. This produced fresh negotiations, and 'after many intricate and perplexed disputes, a new draught was made of all my demands and anew agreed unto', on condition that he too 'should covenant that our people should not land in hostile manner to annoy the peace', and other articles. A farmān [*not extant*] was thus obtained to Roe's satisfaction. (*Endorsed:* 'Articles and Treaty with the Prince, Amad[avaz], August, 1618.' *7 pp. Printed in 'The Embassy'*, p. 506.)

Sir Thomas Roe's Undertaking on behalf of the English [August, 1618] (*Treaties*, vol. i. p. 105).[1]

1. That the English shall not build any house in or about Surat without leave obtained of the King, but only hire a convenient dwelling for their merchants till the ships' arrival. 2. That no goods brought in the fleet that may serve for the King's use shall be concealed from the port authorities: that if the price cannot be agreed upon there, it shall be left to be settled when the articles arrive at the court; and that presents for the King or Prince shall be brought up unopened to the English representative there.

[1] This appears to be the undertaking referred to above. No contemporary copy is available, the one here used having been made in 1789. The original was endorsed: 'Articles required by Sultan Coronne and signed by me.'

3. That the English at Surat shall do no wrong or hurt to any one, and shall pay the dues and customs already agreed upon. (*Copy.* $3\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.* *Printed in 'The Embassy'*, p. 513.)

WILLIAM METHWOLD AT MASULIPATAM TO THE COMPANY, AUGUST 15, 1618 (*O. C.* 679).

His two years' service in the Indies has been divided almost equally between Surat, Tiku, Bantam, Masulipatam, and the sea, and having thus been 'an ubiquitary', his letters have not been so full as he could have wished. Wrote last by the *Charles* and *Hope* [*see* p. 1], homeward bound from Bantam. 'During my stay at Bantam I was by the President and his Counsell chosen Principall of the Coast of Choromandell, and to proceed on that voyadge commaunder of the *Unicorne*; which beeing begunne the 3rd of Aprill was without materiall accident happely performed the 25th of May, at which time wee arrived in the roade of Muselapatnam, and found theare two Holland shippes, the *Goulden Lyon* and the *Tergoose* [*Tergoes*]; the *Bee* belonging to Your Worships, being from Surratt come uppon this coast, then in the Road of Petapoley[1]. . . . Heere arrived about the 20th of July a shippe directly out of Holland called the *Blacke Beare*, whose cargazon consisted of lead, some little scarlett cloth, seed rough pearle, corrall beades polished, and certaine chests of money, the particuler quantety whearof I cannot advise, because they doe not (as wee) enter their goods in the custome house, but pay 3,000 pago[das] yearely rent to be free of all duetyes.[2] Shee is entended to be laden home againe from hence with indico of this country, a sort of course cloth made 3[0?] English ells long, and in bredth and other qualetyes resembling Holland, of 20 or 22*d.* per [ ] (used by them for Guynea), with cotton yarne in good quantety; in all which, for want of your allowance, wee cannot deale, yet they without aney restraint run uppon.' This factory is an expensive one, the charges amounting last year to nearly 1,500 pagodas; however, he hopes to reduce them, and as 'most of your goods

[1] Petapoli, or Peddapalli, now called Nizāmpatam, a coast-town thirty-six miles west-south-west of Masulipatam.

[2] In accordance with the agreement made with the King of Golconda in 1614 (see Valentyn, vol. v. p. 60).

bought heere yeeld not ordinarily so little as centum pro cento proffitt', he has urged Bantam to send the necessary means for continuing the trade. The capital left by Lucas Antheunis was a little over 10,000 pagodas. 'The *Bees* arrivall from Surratt with lead and two chests of ryalls, and ours from Bantam [with] six chests and other vendible commodityes, enabled Mr. Denton to extend his investment [to?] a good somme of 17,050 : 12 : 5⅞ pago[das], part whearof was laden uppon the *Bee* and sent for Bantam, who departed hence the 14th July anno 1618. The Dutches insolency, or our impotency, have allmost, and will I feare altogether, deprive us of the best part of this trade, which in some small quantetyes of nutts and maces brought along in the *Unicorne* wee have made tryall of, which, though trash, were sould for good proffitt, and yf better greater quantetyes vent to more gaine. The Dutch have sould cloves heere at 14½ pago[das] per maen, an unheard of price, yet their confidence none can prevent them have assured them to insist uppon it. Commodityes of Chyna litle at present requested, as it will appeare by the prices of such as are sould and the quantety remayning. The great proffitt porcellan first produced heere hath filled all mens hands with plenty, which makes ours not sought after, though I doubt not in one yeare to sell to good proffitt. The inventory of goods remayning in these factoryes, acknowledged and subscribed by me, doth amount to the somme of 16,164 pagodas 6$\frac{1}{16}$, as per the particulers, a good part wheareof beeing readey money helpes us somewhat in the unvendiblenesse of the rest. Lead hath beene sould this last yeare for 20 pag[odas] per candy readey money, but at present not woorth above 16. Quicksilver and vermilion not woorth above 16 pago[das] per maen readey money, and now lately in barter sould for 18 pag[odas], which is hardly the price it cost in England. Indeed this place never yet (nor will it better) gave vend to any quantety of our commodity, nor produced lading proper for our country. The Pegu adventure, with the undertakers, I accompt desperate. Their letters give small hope, and that is all I know of that proceeding; the rest I have but by report, and that will bee more largely yours. Such severall sorts of goods as Bantam requires, viz. white moryes, white percallaes, white salamporyes, white and redde beteles, dragons malaia, dragons salala, fine gobare

serasses, fine tappy serasses, fine and course Japon tappes, tape chindees, tape anacke, caine goulons[1], and such like, shall with my best care and judgement bee seasonably provided and sent them, not doubting but to receave from thence frequent advise how to rule ourselves in these or other such like commodityes to your best proffitts. For the better supply of these factoryes attendance, I have, with their consents, detayned heere Richard Thomas and William Hughson out of the *Unicorne*, and one John Clarke from the *Bee*, three persons onely in supply of seven gone, whearof two dead, two gone for Pegu, and three now departing with this shippe. Wee are heere in the accompt of merchants onely Mr. Jones and myselfe, and at Petapoley Fraunces Futtur and Mathew Duke equally joynd in the care and dischardge of that businesse. Jeremy Suger, left heere as an attendant by Captain Pepwell, for his diligent and honest service wee have by consultation countenanced with the name and imployment of an assistant, and because his meanes came short of his maintenance, resolved to give him halfe his yearely wages, beeing 30 rials of eight.' Apologises for his brevity. (*Holograph. Endorsed:* 'Of good importance.' 2 *pp.*)

THOMAS JONES AT MASULIPATAM TO GEORGE BALL AT BANTAM, AUGUST 16, 1618 (*O. C.* 680).

The *Bee* sailed for Bantam July 14. Mr. Denton is ready to follow in the *Unicorn*, with a cargo amounting to over 14,847 pagodas, though part of it is of poor quality. Denton's private trade. Prices of nutmegs, &c. 'Mr. Lucas ordered us by commicion to send one Henry Forest and John Stavely to Peegooe for the recoverey of certaine moneys and goods beelonging to the Seventh Voyage[2], and to send alounge with them six pees of stametts, which cloth with charges amounted to 534 pa. 13 : 2¼ cas., and was imbarked in the Kinges ship of this country with Forest and Stavely the 10th of September following; God graunt them a faire and good end. Mr. Denton can best advise you in all particulers towching this busines, whoe hath their letters received in January and March past aloung with him, which yf you please

[1] For these piece-goods see notes at p. 45 of *Letters Received*, vol. vi.

[2] See *Letters Received*, vol. iii. pp. 153, 322; vol. vi. p. 257.

to peruse you may perseave littell hope of recoverey either of the former or that caried with them more then their persons, which I wishe weare heere.' Present value of spices, lead, and silk. Porcelain still unsaleable. 'Mr. Meathold is determined to forbeare investinge aney thinge for a moneth, about which tyme the monsoone serveth for Tenassereye, Pegooe, and other ports; soe that the Moores shipps beeing gon wee shall have none to hinder us [but?] the Duch, whoe are at present providing [goods?] for Holland, as cotten yarne and indico and a kinde of white cloth of 30 yards lounge, which I imagine thay vent in Ginney and Binney; which commodities can littell hinder us in our busines, soe that you may presume two-thirds of the cappitall lefte us will bee reddy for a ship by the fine of December, about which tyme I hope you will bee pleased to remember us with a ship and a larger cappitall, and then wee promise our cares and best indevors for the providinge a competent quant[et]y of each sortt of commodities required in your last advise, and in the meane tyme promise noe neglect.' The present capital of the factory is 16,164 pagodas, mostly in ready money. (*Holograph. Endorsed as received December* 31, 1618. 3 *pp.*)

THOMAS JONES AT MASULIPATAM TO THE COMPANY, AUGUST 16, 1618 (*Abstract only. Factory Records, Miscellaneous,* vol. i. p. 5).

Blames Denton for taking goods refused by Lucas Antheunis. Arrival of a ship from Holland. The factory must be well supplied; 'else the charges will eate out the gain.' Advises a supply of coral and pearls. The Pegu adventure. Timothy Mallory died at Petapoli in August, 1617. (½ *p.*)

RAJAB ĀGHĀ, GOVERNOR OF MOKHA, TO SIR THOMAS ROE, AUGUST 17, 1618 (*O. C.* 681).

Arrival of Joseph Salbank and Edward Heynes at the port of Mokha. 'All the merchants of these ports and all others are well satisfyed in them. God our creator make Your Lordship and the English nation to bee frends with us and grant unto both our desiers.' Salbank has obtained a grant from 'the great Mahomett

Basha Dama' [Muhammad Pādshāh Dāmād]. 'Lett Your Lordship know that the port is at your service, to come with one ship or with ten; wee will embrace and wellcome you in our harts.' Trusts Roe will write to him, for 'my love to Your Lordship and your nation is ancient'; also that Salbank will write and acquaint him with the ambassador's desires. (*Translation, in Heynes's handwriting.* ¾ *p.*)

Account of the Voyage of the *Expedition* from Surat to Jask and back, by John Rowe, Master (*Marine Records*, vol. xxviii).

Sailed from Swally October 31, 1618. On November 14 passed by an island which 'by the cuntry people is called Astella[1], but the Portugals call it Ilho dos Bannupanos, that is, the Bannyans iland, for, saye they, that when the Bannyans sayle by it they heave vittuals overboard and other things, as a sacrifice offred to it, and that in times past they had a pagod or howse to worship on that iland, but now it is fallen downe and not repared againe'. On November 20 captured the *Nossa Senhora da Porta Segura*, of 60 tons, bound from Goa to Ormus and belonging to the Governor of the latter place. Mr. Rickman was placed in charge of the prize, with fifteen men. On the following day they chased another Portuguese vessel of the same size. The *Expedition* could not keep up, but the prize held on and captured the new-comer without resistance, although there were at least a hundred men aboard her. All three ships anchored in Jask Road on the 22nd. Messrs. Barker and Bell came aboard, 'certyfying me of the poore estate they weare in, saying that if they had not had supply this yeare they showld not have had bread to put into thear mouthes.' The goods brought from Surat were landed, as also those captured in the prizes. Most of the prisoners were set on shore. News from Ormus that the Portuguese had two galleys and seven frigates ready to attack the English, and three ships were expected from Goa to assist. The Governor of Ormus twice sent to beg the surrender of the prizes, or at least the papers found on board them. Both requests were refused. On December 11 the *Expedition* set sail with her

[1] Astālu Island, off the Makrān coast.

prizes, much against the will of the factors, who alleged that they had not finished their letters. 'Writing worke enough they will find, if it be but one to accuse thother, for of all those I saw one cannot give thother a good worde.' 'Combran' [Gombroon] would be a much more suitable port than Jask. It is 'a towne well peopelled, a place wheare merchants much resorte, both Turks, Persians, Mores and other merchants of trade. To it belongeth a strong forte or castlle, which did belong to the Portugals but now the Persian hath gotten it from them.' Ships may ride close in, but 'the grownd is very loose and bad ancor hould'. During the homeward voyage the *Expedition* lost company with both her prizes, but one was met again on January 2 and the other was found at anchor when the ship arrived at Swally on January 10, 1619. (7½ *pp.*)

FRANCIS FETTIPLACE[1] AT AGRA TO THE COMPANY, DECEMBER 1, 1618 (*Abstract only. Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i. p. 15).

Excuses the detention of the ships at Surat. Notes the Company's decision 'to have lesse indicoes and more callicoes'. The Portuguese forestalled them in the purchase of 'semianoes'. Samples of gum-lac, 'in stickes and graines' respectively, sent for trial. Great quantities may be had, and the cost of carriage from Agra to Surat is only one and a half rupees per great maund. 'Of cheetes[2] or pintadoes the best and greatest quantytyes are to be had at Agra.' They will order some pintado quilts. Neither 'dutties[3]' nor carnation calicoes are procurable there. Samples sent of 'amberta' and 'sahunn' cloth.[4] A 'large discourse' of Bengal raw silk; patterns forwarded. Persian silk is worth 15*s.* a seer, and none to be had. The report sent to England that quantities of rare stuffs may be had in Agra is not true. 'The Flemyngs have imployed their meanes in Agra, making great shewe of buying quantities, but

[1] He appears to have gone out to India in Downton's fleet. Roe praises him as 'a right true merchant, not easily matched'.

[2] Chintzes (Port. *chita*, Mahr. *chīt*).

[3] A very coarse and strong cloth, from which *dhotīs* were apparently made. Mr. Crooke (*Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., p. 314) says that at the present time a coarse cotton cloth woven by Dhers in Surat is known as *Doti*.

[4] See the letters from Agra and Patna dated Dec. 15, 1619, and July 12, 1620, respectively.

bought very little; not above 80 fardles of indico. The Flemings enimyes to their owne and our trade also. Not possible for our factors in Surrat to accord with the Duitch.' Estate of Francis Tipton. Tin, ivory, quicksilver, vermilion, coral, &c., will sell better at Surat than at Agra, considering the cost of transport. Spices are at high prices. Porcelain in small request. No need to send more broad cloths to the court; they have fifty unsold, which will be enough for a year yet. One hundred per annum will be sufficient to send to Surat, whereof two-thirds should be reds and stamets, and one-third greens, pop[injays] and straw-colours. 'The plague is hott in Agra.'[1] They account to Surat for wages, &c. All gifts and remunerations will be put to the Company's account, as ordered. Cloth put off in barter for indigo. They are overstocked with cloth, though they have sold 170 pieces in two years. They have dispatched to Surat 951 fardles of indigo, 20 bales of calico, and 6 bales of carpets, paying 12½ rupees for each camel. Biddulph intends to go home. 20 tole[2] ('52½ tole make a seere of 30 pices') of musk sent as a sample. No good musk or civet to be had in these parts. They received lately by exchange 22,000 rupees, having already 21,000 in hand. They are to buy 350 fardles of indigo this year; will also try to provide 10,000 pieces of semianoes, but it will be difficult. Wish to know 'of what finenes you would have your carpetts, for those that are made for sale are usually from 2½ to 3½ ruppies the coveds square; but some bespoken are made from 8 to 10 ruppies per covads'. (1½ *pp.*)

MATTHEW DUKE AT PETAPOLI TO THE COMPANY, DECEMBER 9, 1618 (*O. C.* 716).[3]

Forwards an analysis of the accounts of the factory. 'I am but newly returned from viseting cometies[4] and weavers in the cuntrie, wher I was all this last weeke looking over ther clothe and yearne, wherof I let none pase without carfull vew, comparing it with the

[1] See *Letters Received*, vol. vi. p. 198.

[2] 'A tole is five graines les then one-third of an ounce troy' (*marginal note*). This would make the *tolā* 155 grains, which seems an understatement.

[3] Sent via Surat.

[4] i. e. 'committees,' the middlemen who contracted with the English factors for the supply of calicoes, and who received the customary advances for distribution among the weavers.

musters, and what I found grose I thrue out or cutt; but, to say truthe, ther is no great faulte to be found eyther with cloth or yearn.' This year they have given better prices and thus procured far better goods. 'The Duche at Mesulepatnam have receaved a great affront by the Governor of that place, whoo did first chabucke [1], or beat with a wand, one of the princepalls of the Duche marchant[s], which ther President [2] hering of went forth to know the cause; and understanding the ingurie don, meets with an offiser named the Cutwall [3] (somewhat resembling the office of a marshall in London) and laid hould on him, thinking to carie him to the Duche house, but the Governor hering therof sent his souldiers, which reskud ther Cuttwall and beat and woonded Hance Dehais and those that wer with him so sorely that one of the Duche dyed of that beating (or, *ut disetur*, of *morbus Gallicus*) in few daies after. The time of this busines is now a moneth sithe thence, but not yet accorded, notwithstanding ther hath ben great meanes made to Dehaies for reconsilement, but will not harken to it. Hee was thother daie redye to depart for Polycatt, being recovered of his woounds, but at the instant nuse was brought of the takinge of a shipe of Coocheine by one of the Duches frigets on the coast of Jengelie [4] bound for Bengalla, and they have caried hir for Polycatt, but is thought they will deliver the shipe backe againe, for that they tooke hir riding at anker near the coast, a thinge contrary to ther agreement with the King of these parts as is said. Her is now lately arived a small Duche shipe from Bantam, ladne with spyces, as the Duche report, but wee have no letters com in hir nor yet can understand eynie newse of them more then this, that they have takne two of those latter three shipes of the English that went from Bantam for the Molockas.[5] Theis buterboxes are groanne soe

[1] Hind. *chābuk*, a horse-whip. This is an earlier instance of its use in English than is to be found in Yule's Glossary.

[2] Hans de Haze of Amsterdam, Chief at Masulipatam, 1615–19. For his account of the brawl see *Hague Transcripts*, series i, vol. iii. No. 110.

[3] *Kotwāl*, an official answering to our 'superintendent of police'.

[4] The strip of coast between Coringa and Jagannāth, where the 'Orissa Coast' began.

[5] The *Solomon*, *Thomas*, and *Attendant* left Macassar on March 7, 1618, under the command of Cassarian David, to carry a stock of provisions to Courthope's little garrison at Pulo Run. The *Thomas* parted company, owing to bad weather, and the remaining two, when within sight of their destination, were captured after a short fight by four Dutch vessels (March 25) and carried into Neira.

insolent that yf they be suffred but a whit longer, they will make claime to the whole Indies, so that no man shall trade but themselves or by thear leave; but I hoope to see ther pride take a falle. I am glad to hear of the good hoopes of your trade in Persea, and of the trade in the Redd Sea, and quiet in the Mogules cuntry. It is hear feared the Hollanders taking the junkes sent by the Moors to Pegue, which yf [*sic*] it wille indanger our trade in thease parts. Her is likewise newse that the Mogules souldiers are entred the cost of Jengele and they have takne a stronge fort of the cuntrey, ther armey consisting of 1,500,000, a wooman being cheefe comaunder of the army; this is as the tale goes. Theis people do greatly fear the Mogull, but I thinke it will neither make nor mare for us yf the nuse be true; so that wee need not fear only som small lose of tyme.' (*Holograph.* 3 *pp.*)

William Methwold at Masulipatam to Sir Thomas Roe at Surat, December 9, 1618 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2086, *f.* 45).

Thanks him for his letters. A letter received from the purser of the *Charles*, dated at the Cape, May 3, announces that Capt. Pepwell died there, and was succeeded by Swanley.[1] A Dutch pinnace has arrived from Bantam. At her departure, Capt. Pring was at Jakatra with the *James Royal* and (apparently) the *Francis*. 'The Dutch in Jacatra and Japarra forced to defend themselves by armes against the inhabitants, and in the Moluccoes, Banda and Amboina a great and allmost generall revolt. Two English shippes, the *Salomon* and *Thomas*, they have this yeare taken about Puloroon.' They report that the English intend 'this yeare to make a great power for the Moluccoes and enforce trade. . . . The Dutch have seated themselves againe at Achyne and unseated ours at Tecoo, but for a good present there is hope of that trades restauration.' Two ships are to go from Masulipatam to Holland this year with indigo, cotton yarn, and piece goods. 'The coppy of that Kings firmaen I have receaved, and understand that this King houlds his country per fee or favour of the former.[2] Yf aney innovation or hopes of

[1] Pepwell left Bantam in the *Charles* about January 20, 1618. William Swanley was master of that ship.

[2] The King of Golconda would certainly not have acknowledged any such dependence on the Mogul.

trade to Bengala shall occuere it cannot but bee somewhat helpefull to our proceedings.'[1] Sends his 'duety' to Lady Roe[2] and good wishes for the ambassador's homeward voyage. Encloses a letter for Sir Thomas Smythe. (*Holograph. Seal.* 1½ *pp.*)

SIR THOMAS ROE [AT SURAT] TO [JOHN BROWNE AT AHMADĀBĀD?], DECEMBER 14, 1618 (*Ibid., f.* 47).

Commercial details. Their caravans have arrived safely, and their bills of exchange have been paid. Requests some papers concerning Richard Steel. (*A much damaged copy.* 4 *pp.*)

[SIR THOMAS ROE] AT SURAT TO CAPTAIN BONNER, DECEMBER 16, 1618 (*Ibid., f.* 49).

Regarding the payment of certain customs. Sends back a runaway from the ships and begs he may be forgiven. He has sent in pursuit of another and doubts not to take him. Heynes met with them both at Cambay. (*A damaged copy.* 1 *p.*)

[SIR THOMAS ROE] AT SURAT TO EDWARD HEYNES [AT CAMBAY?], DECEMBER 17, 1618 (*Ibid., f.* 50).

Refers to the runaways. Desires him to be at Surat by January 15, as others are urging their claims. Reproves him for private trade, and requests a list of goods provided for Bantam, the Red Sea, &c. (*A damaged copy.* 1 *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, FEBRUARY 9 AND 15, 1619 (*from a copy* (50 *pp.*) *in Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2122, *f.* 1; *and an abstract in I. O. Factory Records, Miscellaneous,* vol. i. p. 6[3]).

The *Anne* made small profit in the Red Sea, owing to differences between the merchants and the captain. The factors were well received. They gave many presents to procure farmāns which

[1] For Roe's attempts to procure a farmān for trade in Bengal see *The Embassy* (p. 349, &c.) and *Letters Received,* vols. iv to vi.

[2] Methwold had brought out with him a packet of letters from the lady whom Roe had secretly married before his departure (see *The Embassy,* p. 254).

[3] The quotations are in many cases from the abstract, as the copy of the letter is in a very bad condition.

would have been granted freely. Most of the English goods (except cloth) were brought back unsold; the rest were bartered for 'Mocheares', which will fetch little at Surat. The unsold goods have been turned over to the new stock, and sent again to the Red Sea in the *Lion*. The voyage of the *Bee* from Surat to Masulipatam and thence to Bantam. The *Unicorn* carried a cargo of 27,414 rials from Bantam to Masulipatam, and returned with goods for 14,847 pagodas. Nathaniel Salmon, master of the *Gift*, died about April 10, 1618, and John Hatch succeeded him, William Newall being made master of the *Bee*. Arrival of Bonner's fleet at Surat with the Company's dispatches, to which they now reply. Reasons for the late dispatch of the *Globe* last year. Every factory will forward copies of letters received and sent. The Ahmadābād factors will be instructed to send the indigo in strong baskets. No more sugar candy will be sent home. The cost of carriage from Burhānpur to Surat is about 1¾ mahmūdīs the great maund, or nearly a halfpenny per pound; from Agra, 3½ mahmūdīs per camel; from Ahmadābād and Cambay, 1¼ mahmūdīs the small maund, besides 1½ per cent. custom on all goods 'there passed over the water'. Refined gum-lac is to be had at Surat for 20 mahmūdīs the small maund. 'The sorte in graines at Agra for 6¼ rup[ees] the great maen, and the sorte as it groweth, without fyning at Agra, also for 5½ rup[ees] the great maen.' The Ahmadābād factors will explain why they have not supplied borax and green ginger as ordered. They were unable to purchase quilts there this year, but will supply some 'pintathoe' quilts from other places. As to the provision of Lahore carpets, 'isams[1], or particoullored cloath carpets,' 'necanies[2],' striped calicoes for napkins, and dutties. 'Dutties to be dyed watchetts[3] you may be provided of. . . . Incarnadine narrow fine callicoes, none to be had.' 'Semians' ordered from Agra. They will endeavour to procure 10,000 pieces of broad baftas. 'The brokers do much abuse our people in buying

[1] Perhaps the *asām*, or Indian prayer-rug, is here intended. It is usually striped blue and white.

[2] From the *Court Minutes* of Sept. 22, 1624, it appears that 'nicanees' were striped calicoes of a somewhat higher price than usual. Valentyn, in his list of Surat piece-goods (bk. 4, pt. 2, p. 146), gives 'niquanias', 14½ ells long and 1¼ broad.

[3] Watchets were blue-coloured woollens made at the Somersetshire town of that name. Here the term is applied to the distinctive colour of these stuffs.

of callicoes,' but they have recently been forced to refund 1,600 mahmūdīs. Baftas two yards wide cannot be procured. The Dutch have had some made 28 yards in length. Four or five thousand pieces of narrow baftas will be sent home. Bloodstones are difficult to get. 'Aggat or babagoria[1] beades' can be furnished; and they have sent some crystal beads and agate cups. Measures taken to procure samples of Bengala silk. Those obtained were judged unfavourably. They refer to the Agra factors' letter [*see* p. 46] on this subject. Patterns of raw silk now sent. Roe's advice of musk, civet, and rare stuffs of Cambaya was only from hearsay. All that they can find worth sending is a kind of mingled musk, of which they have forwarded a sample. The Dutch at Surat want means to compete with them, and it is at present 'unnecessary eather to accepte or ma[ke proffer of any] such co[mpact?] as you propounde'. They justify their action in the Persia venture. The last year's fleet expended 12,120 mahmūdīs while at Swally. The resorting of the sailors to the factory at Surat is an inconvenience, but it is difficult to remedy it. They praise the commander's enforcement of discipline. The directions for rendering accounts will be observed. Concerning private trade from port to port, they think 'there are no great matters so transported', but what the masters and pursers do, they cannot say. They wished to send the *Charles* to Masulipatam, but Pepwell chose to dispatch the *Bee* instead. They blame the remissness of the Bantam factors in not advising Antheunis of the danger that befell the *Globe* in her voyage to Masulipatam. No spices have yet been sent to Surat from Bantam, in spite of the Company's orders. As regards the reduction ordered in the number of factories, they report the dissolution of that at Burhānpur, 'occasioned by meanes of the Princes departure.' That at Ahmadābād should, in their opinion, be continued, though possibly the number employed there may be lessened. Roe's advice to withdraw the factors at Agra, and rely upon native merchants to bring goods from thence to Surat, is very unsound. They are glad to hear of the Company's resolution concerning 'land men and volentaries'. 'Our hopes to fortefie, if wee have any, might perhapes be induced on His Lordshipps promises or

[1] Hind. *bābāghūrī*, the white agate of Cambay, so called from the patron saint of the district in which the mines are situated.

hoppes, which provinge only wordes, wee cannott expecte any thinge of that kind, and therefore must alter oppinion.' They will entertain no idlers in their house. Deficiency in rials[1]. The 102 bars of lead missing[2] are supposed to have been embezzled by the landlord; they have taken precautions against such loss in the future. The orders regarding payment of factors' wages, &c., will be observed, though they have created some discontent. They are glad the Company approve Rastell's appointment as accountant. The purchase of indigo from some Venetians[3] explained. They will yearly send a list of persons employed in each factory, also particulars of the estates of any deceased factors. As regards the Company's threat to impose penalties for omitting such advices, they observe that every one is liable to forget small matters in dealing with more important, 'which even in the performance of your businesse att home (under correcion) wee often find; and therefore you may please to allter that intencion, sith wee may not consent to such forfeturs.' Window glass of no use for India. Transfer of the old joint stock's goods, &c., to the new joint stock's account. Captain Bonner's ships did not see Dale's fleet after leaving them in the Downs; 'yett heare is certayne newes that such a fleete of shippes, who weare English, aboute the iland Com[oro] mett with a Portingall gallion bound for Goa, [from] whom by composicion they receaved 90,000 rials, and did them no farther damage. . . . The gallion arrived att Goa, notwithstanding the mencioned, being very reich, havinge in hir above 400,000 rials in specie. The captayne and cheefes receaved great rebuke from the Viceroy, and remayninge longe in prison for not defendinge themselves; yett the composicion was generally approved by the merchantes interessed and the inhabitantes of Goa.'[4] Of the rials

[1] See *Letters Received*, vol. v. p. 137. [2] Ibid., p. 121. [3] Ibid., p. 110.

[4] For the incident see Dale's letter to the Company (*Hague Transcripts* at I. O., ser. i, vol. iii); another letter from him entered as No. 609 in the *Calendar of State Papers, E. Indies*, 1617-21, and quoted in part in the preface; John Pery's letters (*O. C.* 759); Arnold Brown's account of the voyage in *Purchas* (vol. ii. p. 1850); a letter from Nicolas Trigautius, also in *Purchas* (vol. ii. p. 1693); Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa* (vol. iii. pt. iii. ch. 15); and a letter from the Portuguese Viceroy in the *Lisbon Transcripts* at the I. O. (*Documentos Remettidos*, vol. xi). There is some doubt as to the amount extorted from the carrack; Dale says 80,000 rials, but the Portuguese agree with the text in making it 90,000.

It may be mentioned in passing that the second letter from Dale alluded to above is wrongly dated in the *Calendar* as March 1, whereas it should be March 15; that it appears

sent in Bonner's fleet, they have left three chests on the *Dragon* and one in the *Expedition*, intended for Sumatra ; the rest, with the bullion, they have landed. The 150 broadcloths sent are more than are likely to sell. Disposal of the lead. About 12,000 maunds will sell yearly ; but it is no commodity for Persia, 'the cuntry ittselfe affordinge store thereof.' Steel's waterworks scheme is a failure ; 'his enginers beeinge diceased, and alltogether given over thatt designe.' No sale for iron at Surat. The 'sea morse teeth' received last year were disposed of at a loss. Sale of ivory. They have taken up at interest 100,000 mahmūdīs. They advise against further consignments of cochineal, pearls, enamel, &c. The arras, &c., not yet cleared from the custom-house. They deny Roe's statements regarding the profits to be made from such goods, and complain of the arrangement he has made regarding their purchase by the King or Prince. 'A gentleman [of the] Princes, passinge thouroughe this [town] on [a messa]dge to Idelshawe, Kinge of Vicepore [1],' bought some cloth of gold, satins, &c. Folding-cases, table-books, purses, and so on are of little use, even as presents. Bone-lace and gloves will not sell. 'Chamletts mohares' are brought from the Red Sea at cheaper rates than the Company's. Feathers in no demand. The swords sent 'are neather the right make nor very good', and are besides 'so exceedinge heavy as few men can use them'. The knives are too large. The 'allegant [2] . . . will serve His Lordshippe to drinke homewards and gratefie his frinds'; both that and strong waters useless except for presents. 'Pictures, if rare (butt not of men) . . . the fittest to p[lease the] fancy of this kinge and people that Eng[land] affords;' but no profit to be made on the sales will recompense the trouble of getting them through the custom-house. 'Corrall a commoditie to send large quantyty, but the merchants of Surratt will not suffer it to be brought into Surratt but by strong hand.' Amber beads will give a fair profit. Tin sells well. 'This people are not unaquaynted with the use of itt ; they usually have had good quantety both in

to be rather a draft or signed copy than a real letter ; and that it was evidently addressed, not to the Company, but to a relative, probably Sir William Throgmorton (Dale's brother-in-law). A letter from Dale to Throgmorton of the same date and dealing with the same subjects is described in the seventh report of the Hist. MSS. Commission as being in Mr. Molyneux's collection.

[1] Ādil Shāh, King of Bījāpur.

[2] Wine from Alicante.

there owne shippes and by the Portingales from [the] sowards, which of late yeares [hath] somthinge fayled.' Sale of quicksilver and vermilion. The price obtained for the former is not likely to exceed 150 or 160 mahmūdīs a maund, 'att which rates [the Dutch] do supply Messellapatan and the Portingall [Cambaya] with quicksilver of Chyna, as good as that of Europe, which allso is brought from Mocha cheaper then your heartofore hath beene invoyced.' Of 'Bulgaria[1] hides', 100 or 150 yearly will be sufficient. They know not whether 'saunder-wood' grows on the island of St. Lawrence [Madagascar] [*see* p. 67], but it is in good request at Surat and the Dutch have sold some at 50 mahmūdīs the maund; Kerridge and his colleagues have accordingly written to the Bantam factory for a supply. Also for tortoise shells, which are vendible at 5½ mahmūdīs the seer; 'the blackest culler and thickest shells' are most in request. How the ships of the fleet were disposed of. The *Expedition* sent to Persia with a cargo of 109,369 mahmūdīs 25 pice; she left Swally November 1, and reached Jask the 22nd; left again on December 12 and arrived at Swally January 10. They refer to Roe for particulars; yet, as regards Connock, they 'are humbly bould to remember you that though malicious callumniators ceace not to add scandall unto the memory of the dead, he performed more in thatt negotiacion with the Sophie in three monthes then hath beene effected in India this three yeares, nor hath any thinge since his death beene performed to your benifitt'. Great dissensions among the Persian factors. Francis Tipton, who came thence overland, died before reaching Surat. Disposal of his effects. The *Expedition* on her outward voyage surprised two Portuguese galliots. Disposal of the prize goods. A factory at Calicut not worth troubling about. 'The Samorine of thatt country so misserably poore as hee would be glad of occacion to eate on your stocke. Pepper is neather so cheape as those factors wrote, nor quantity suffitiente (if to bee had) to defray the charge in fetchinge; besides the porte unaccessable with great shippes to comand the shore; whose provicions for refreshinge are frute, butt no cattle, and there

[1] As pointed out in *Hobson-Jobson* (s. v. 'Bulgar'), this term has nothing to do with modern Bulgaria. It was used to denote 'Russia leather' (cp. the 'Muscovy hides' of p. 21), from the fact that the region of manufacture and export was originally Bolghār, on the Volga.

water brackish, not worth the indangeringe of caske to fill itt.' They will, however, advise the commander to call there to recover if possible the moneys due to the Company. Overtures received from 'certayne Mallabars who inhabitt a cuntry one the sea coast some 20 leauges to the sowards of Goa, called Ekaree[1], the prince an Indian Raja that hath beene long in leauge with the Portingall'. The *Dragon* and *Expedition* are to proceed to Sumatra. Goods and money sent in them. Affairs at Tiku and Achin. George Pike left at Surat, Daniel White going in his place to the southwards. They blame the Bantam factors for not advising what Surat goods are most in request there. The *Lion*, the remaining ship of the fleet, goes to Mokha, encouraged by the results of the former venture. The Surat merchants oppose the trade 'as very prejudiciall unto them and not to bee indured'. To prevent it they forbade all dealing with the English in commodities suitable for the Red Sea, and imprisoned a couple of merchants who ventured to supply them. They threaten further measures if the trade be persisted in; 'and therefore it is very requisite your Worships bee pleased to declare in your next letters how farr you will hazard this trade to continew itt.' 'Your factors have generally taken notice of your pleasure conserninge what may bee given the Agent att court by the Kinge or others in retribucion for presentes given or whatsoever other consideracion[2], which wee doubt not in materiall thinges will be observed. His Lordshipps guiftes hath not beene so great as that itt should give any hopes [to] his successors of great matters.' They cannot obtain any definite information as to the possibilities of trade with Abyssinia. 'The Guzeratts trade from these partes unto Zealan[3], Barbarye[4], Aden, Mocha, besides sundry other portes within the Red Sea, cannot bee contradicted. The commodities they usually transporte from hence you will att large understand by coppie of the invoyce goods on the *Lyon* intended thether, which allso are generally usefull att

[1] The petty kingdom of the Kelādi chiefs of Ikkeri, now a town of small importance in the Shimoga district of Mysore. The port of Bhatkal, twenty-five miles south of Honāvar, had been added to their territory some twenty years previous to this date. The outcome of these negotiations will be found in Hoare's letter on a later page.

[2] It appears from the abstract that these were to be brought to the Company's account —a rule ever after maintained.

[3] Zeila. [4] Berbera.

Asab, Dalique[1], [ ] and Sawakin[2], portes inhabited by Moores [on the] Abissian coast; butt how farr it is from [thence to] Dombya[3] none heare can certaynely advertise; nor is there usually recourse that way, the borders beeinge a kind of rude people and fearefull of the Moores, that oftentimes makes inroades, steale ther people and sell them for slaves. They have not any porte within the Red Sea; all the ilandes and sea portes [in ?] subjeccion to the Grand Segnior. The commodities ther cuntry affordes are the same Your Worshipps have beene informed: gould, elephantes teeth, wax, beazers and civet; the two last little worth; the former transported in good quanteties. Especially wax is brought in abundance, and worth heare ma[hmūdīs] three per mand. Elephantes teeth they bringe not many this way; butt from the coast of Mellinda [Malindi] the Portingall do bringe great store, which they gett by trading with the blackamoores, thatt inhabitt all the [coast] alonge from Mosambique to Mangadore [Magadoxo].' The factors going to Mokha have been instructed to make further inquiries. They have endeavoured to obtain specimens of the gold brought from Abyssinia, but have failed, 'no shippe of this place havinge beene in those partes these eight yeares. Itt is not coyned butt in very small and great peeces, and is in vallue accordinge to the finnesse, the ordinary sorte worth 22 or 23 ma[hmūdīs] the tola of this place, which is troy weight one-third of an ounce, five graynes less. One riall of eight full weight thereof passeth for ten rialls in account; if of the best sorte, eleven.' The factors will endeavour to bring specimens from Mokha next year. 'An Englishman now in this towne thatt hath beene longe in Goa, cominge from Portingall in the carreckes to[uched] att Mosambique, and by what he observed from the Portingall tradinge to Sophila [and] the river Quamma[4], giveth incouragement for Your Worshipps discovery of those partes,

[1] Probably Dahlak, on an island of the same name, about thirty miles east of Massowah. It is said to be the Orina of the Romans. Cp. *Letters Received*, vol. i. p. 192, where 'Dialeque' is said to be twenty-five days from 'Dombia'. Massowah would of course be the actual point of departure.

[2] Suakin.

[3] There is still a province of Dembea in Abyssinia, to the north of Lake Tsana, but the chief town is now called Gondar.

[4] The Zambesi (the Zuama of Barbosa, Cuama of Leo Africanus and Linschoten, Coueame of Pyrard de Laval).

especially the river Quamma, which is in the latetude in the mappes 18¾ degres and distant from Mosambyque to the northwardes thereof aboute four degrees, where the Captain of thatt porte doth usually trade with the kinge of Monopatab[1], lord of the said river, and hath residente some few Portingalls fifty leauges upp within the same in way of trade. They do yearely buy greate store of ellephantes teeth, ambergreece and gould, of which no doubt there is abundance, whereby the Governor of Mosambique is greately inriched, havinge the sole trade confirmed to him and his people by the kinge of Spayne in recompence of his service.' They think it would be worth while to endeavour to discover these coasts, the trade of which 'is the principall of the Portingalls wealth in India'. They have sent 540 maunds of wheat on the *Dragon* to Bantam, but fear it will suffer from heating and worms. The unicorn's horn [*see* p. 11] sent to Achin. '[The favour?] extended to Mr. Jurdane wee perceave [ ] and the course you have con[sidered] necessary for the goverment of your business [in] India. What the Lord Embassadour hath ordered heare in this poynt, and sundrie others that depend there one, you will perceave by coppy thereof[2], firmed allso by us, which His Lordship will deliver you.' Francis Fettiplace has decided to stay another year. They do not know of a John Ferrars. The royal letter to the King of Achin will be duly delivered. That intended for Calicut is now useless. Robert Hutchinson admitted a factor. Henry Edmonds and other youths remain in the Surat factory. The Company's orders regarding Giles James and others will be observed. They note that cotton yarn, calico lawns, shashes[3], and sal-ammoniac are not to be sent home. Six thousand pieces of semians have been ordered for next year's ship; also 10,000 broad baftas, and 5,000 dutties. They hope to procure Lahore carpets of the breadth desired. 'Benjamine' [benzoin] is dear and not a commodity to be expected. Hard wax sent for trial. 'Cardemum cometh [from] the cuntry of Mallabare heather, butt in huskes, worth now 30 m[ahmūdīs] the mand ; and therefore have not sent any.' Some bloodstones provided. The musters of silk provided by the Agra factors are forwarded, together with their advice. The remains of the first joint stock have been

[1] 'Monomotapa,' which Burton explains as 'Lord of M'tapa' (M'wene M'tapa), a native kingdom on the Zambesi. [2] Not extant. [3] Turban-cloths.

transported to the new. Window glass useless. Roe appointed William Biddulph agent at court. They will send letters viâ Mokha and Cairo shortly. Their troubles with the natives about their dwelling. Roe has been unable to obtain any concession of value in the matter. 'The privelidges he sought weare ever denied in capitulacions, the custome of other princes. His Lordshipp att departure had only two severall firmans, one of the Kinge and another of the Prince, confirminge our trade and continewance; the Kinges generall for our recepcion and free trade in all his dominions; the Prinses, more particulerly prohibitinge wronge and injustice, hath couldly reformed itt, as may appeare as well by there detencion of our goods in the custome house thus long as there not providing us a fittinge house ([who?] absolutely intend after shipps departure [to] remoove from hence) and sundry particulers [not?] greatly materyall to bee heare related, seeinge none of the comaunds are exactly performed longer then agreeable to the wills of the offecers or there masters profitt, and under pretence thereof do us any injurie, which will not bee reformed by intercession.' An agent at court is therefore of little use except to sell cloth, &c.; and this the chief factor might be left to do if, as seems likely, the King settles at Agra. 'For neare the Kinge is lesse wronge, more justice and soonest reformacion then in any other places.' The best remedy is to stop the native junks till grievances are redressed. An excellent opportunity presented itself last year when the junks returned from the Red Sea with the *Anne*, but Roe did not take it. They now require definite instructions on this point. The debts at court. Sprage's mission to Golconda, and his arrest on his return by Soares, who carried him back to Burhānpur; thence he has fled both from the Portuguese and the Company's service. 'Your Agra caphila in there cominge downe weare sett uppon by theeves on the way some 22 dayes jurney hence, thatt tooke from them 14 churles Byana indico and killed four or five sarvantes thatt attended itt.... Of those thus lost, the Lord Embassadour will give instrucions to Wm. Biddulph to demand justice for of the Kinge, and wee hope the vallue may bee restored by the lord of that place where this violence was comitted, if his greatness (beeinge the Chan Channas[1]

[1] Khān-khānān ('lord of lords'), the title of Mīrzā Abdul Rahīm, one of the leading nobles of the time. He was the son of Akbar's celebrated general, Bairām Khān, and

sonne, chiefe of the nobillitie) prevente itt not.' Money paid by the new stock on behalf of the old. Of indigo 1,100 churles[1] will be provided for next year. Richard Steel followed the court from Ahmadābād, but 'fallinge into some difference or dislike with Mirmiran[2], a gentelmans of the Kinge to whom the care of [his] workemen was comended, was [by] the said gentleman dispossesed of his camels and other cariadge and left to his owne provicion for himself and famely'. He at first tried to reach Māndū, where the King was supposed to be, but gave up his intention and returned. He has now left for England in the *Royal Anne*. Papers sent home, including Surat factory expenses from 'Thomas Kerridge his precedensy'. Several commodities found deficient in weight, the Surat maund being taken as equivalent to 33 lb. English. Estates of Richard Woodroffe and Francis Tipton. 7,040 mahmūdīs disbursed on account of the *Royal Anne* since her return from the Red Sea.

P.S.—Renewed overtures from the Malabars [*see* p. 56], who declare they can fill the *Expedition* with pepper in less than fifteen days. The fleet will accordingly touch at their port. The *Lion* is to call at Socotra on her way to the Red Sea, to buy aloes and sanguis draconis. She is also 'to passe unto the Abex side for further inquiry of Prester Johns cuntry and the other particulers by Your Worshipps prescribed'. Presents given by, and money advanced to, the Lord Ambassador. Private trade of Towerson, Steel, &c. Invoices of the cargo of the *Royal Anne* are sent herewith.[3]

first distinguished himself by crushing Muzaffar Shāh's attempt to recover the throne of Gujarāt. He held in turn the governments of Jaunpur, Multān, and Sind, and was at this time in charge of the operations against the Deccan princes. Withington (*Purchas*, vol. i. p. 483) refers to him as 'Chon Chin Naw, the greatest of the Mogoll Nobilitie'.

The son here referred to was Shāhnawāz Khān, often styled i-Jahāngīrī, to distinguish him from another person of the same name.

[1] The unit by which indigo was generally bought. It is often termed by the factors a bundle (or fardle). The greater churl was a little over five maunds in weight; the smaller, about four.

[2] This may mean either the Amīr Mīrān, or a title—*mīr-mīrān*, 'chief of chiefs.'

[3] It appears from the abstract that Kerridge added a further postscript begging for a continuance of the £50 per annum allowed him by Keeling, for 'adventures in the joint stockes', and for a gratuity, alleging that he had fully intended to return to England this year, but remained at Roe's special request.

GOODS SENT FOR ENGLAND IN THE *ROYAL ANNE* (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2122, *f.* 55)[1].

I. *On account of the Old Joint Stock.*

	Mahm.	Pice.
'Indico Serquese,' 1,104 [fardles] chests and baskets	274,942	7
'Baftaes Gingames[2],' 40 pieces	276	3
'Baftas broad,' 8 pieces	120	16
'Broad baftaes,' 5,302 pieces	33,195	21
Sundry stuffs, 10 corge[3]	187	0
Baftas for table napkins, 80 pieces	218	0
'Reeses[4],' 275 pieces	1,150	10½
Bloodstones, 8,500	119	0
'Baftas narrowe,' 980 pieces	3,680	13
'Indicoe Byana,' 3,562 great maunds, 23½ [seers]	278,673	18
Musters of sundry sorts	234	10
Carpets, 46	3,930	2[ ]
Dutties, 290 pieces	1,066	½
'Baftaes narrowe,' 20 pieces	55	0
Indigo dust, 9 churls (not rated)	—	—
Plumbers' store	134	0
Vellum and parchment, 1 chest	624	[ ]
Calico quilts, 4	202	[ ]
'Semians,' 2,330 pieces	14,075	[ ]
'Sahum' cloth, 50 pieces	431	[ ]
Mahmūdīs	613,311	18

(1 *p.*)

II. *On account of the New Joint Stock.*

	Mahm.	Pice.
Baftas broad, 1,000 pieces	6,777	24
Baftas narrow, [mames[5]] or watchetts, 1 corge	160	29
Baftas of 2 [ ] broad, 1 piece	24	6
'Necanies,[6]' 21 c[orge], 15 covides long and 1$\frac{5}{16}$ broad	1,320	0

[1] In most cases expenses of carriage, &c., seem to have added to the actual price paid.

[2] On the much disputed question of the origin of 'gingham' see *Hobson-Jobson* (2nd ed.), p. 375.

[3] Hind. *kori*, a score.

[4] In some notes derived from Nicholas Uffiet (*Fact. Rec. Miscell.*, vol. xxv) 'resses' are described as 'fine dimatees from two to three ropees per peece, yarde and haulfe broad'.

[5] This may be a corrupt form of *asmānī*, 'sky-blue,' i.e. watchet-colour (see p. 51).

[6] See p. 51 *n*.

	Mahm.	Pice.
'Eramees[1],' 7 covids long and 1½ broad	177	16
Baftas coloured, [599?] pieces	3,584	22
'Indico Serquese,' 1,882 small maunds 24 seers	75,981	15
Indigo dust (not rated)	—	—
Dutties, 24 corge	2,190	11
Gum-lac, 166 maunds 18½ seers	2,957	0
Turmeric, 49 small maunds 35 seers	155	16
Baftas narrow, white, 99 corge 17 pieces	9,950	31
Sealing wax, 5 small maunds	200	0
'Baftaes mames or watchetts Camba[ia],' 9½ covids long and $1\frac{1}{16}$ broad, 10 corge	635	16
'Dutties Dulcae[2],' 16¾ covids long and $1\frac{7}{12}$ broad, 20 corge	1,291	30
'Indicoes Serquese,' 15 small maunds	645	20
'Pedaeria[3],' various	897	2
Mahmūdīs	106,932	14

Besides some cinnamon, China roots, and benzoin taken from the Portuguese prizes.

(1 *p.*)

Goods shipped to the Southwards on Capt. Bonner's Fleet (*Ibid.*, *f.* 56).

	Mahm.	Pice.
'Brawles[4],' 58 corge	2,090	0
Dutties, various	2,259	28
'Tapseeles[5],' 20 corge	2,329	8
'Cadia cotten,' 5 corge	196	21
'Mentasses,' 5 corge	110	26
'Bemimas pancharwira,' 3½ corge	176	29
'Ditto sattevilas,' 1½ corge	111	3
'Grobades panchawira,' 5 corge	226	21

[1] Possibly there is some connexion with *ihrām*, the cotton dress assumed by the pilgrim on entering Mecca. In a later letter (Oct. 29, 1619) the term is used as synonymous with *dhotīs*.

[2] From Dholka.

[3] A general term for precious stones and gems (Port. *pedraria*). Roe speaks of 'pearle and other *pedreria*' (*O. C.* 610).

[4] The *Oxford Eng. Dict.* defines 'brawl' as 'a blue and white striped cloth manufactured in India'. Possibly the name may be derived from the Hind. *biral*, 'open in texture, fine.'

[5] Ufflet (see p. 61 *n*) describes 'tapsels' as 'a stripe stuff with silk and cotton, from seven rupees to twelve.'

	Mahm.	Pice.
'Cannekins,' 930 corge	18,199	21
'Pangeries,' 12 corge	1,100	28
'Pitcharies,' 15 corge	1,337	22½
Baftas, various, 214 corge [ ]	17,316	9⅝
'Allejaies,' 20 corge	1,740	3
'Tricandies,' 100 corge	1,815	3
Ditto, 619$\frac{1}{10}$ corge	9,510	2
'Pilgar chawdar,' 20 corge	3,668	14
'Mittfoones[1],' 20 corge	2,370	1[ ]
'Pettolas,' 127 corge	12,738	2[ ]
'Sabony,' 5 corge	518	[ ]
'Newlee,' little, 10 corge	675	2[ ]
'Mavee,' 25 corge	436	1[ ]
'Seras,' 30 corge	1,789	[ ]
'Buckar,' 13½ corge	572	[ ]
'Casseeds,' 33 corge	2,74[ ]	[ ]
'Byrames blew,' 40 corge	2,73[ ]	[ ]
'Chintes,' 50 corge	3,900	[ ]
'Red Sealas,' 120 corge	4,468	24
'Byrames white,' 10 corge	450	30
'Gadelles,' 20 corge	1,023	2[ ]
'Gingames,' [ ] corge	2,548	0
Stuffs, various	1,523	[ ]
Cotton wool, 193 bags	2,608	[ ]
Steel, 188 corge	634	16
'Serebaffes,' 397½ pieces	2,694	25
Corn, 540 maunds of 39 seers	553	22½
Spangles, 1 box	1,697	16
Iron, English, 1,149 bars	5,784	0
Divers toys	59	10⅝
Ditto for barter	5,15[5?]	26⅝
Iron for barter	52	0
Knives	44	24
Brass ordnance for the King	5,266	21½
Apparel	294	0
Rials	91,082	0
	212,012	1
Deduct: 6½ corge of dutties wrongly entered	398	11
Mahmūdīs	211,613	22

(1½ *pp.*)

[1] Apparently the same as 'madafunum', described in *Letters Received*, vol. i. p. 74, as 'chequered and somewhat fine'.

GOODS SENT TO THE RED SEA IN THE *LION* (*Ibid.*, *f.* 57).

	Mahm.	*Pice.*
'Cannikins,' 64 corge	13,462	20
'Bocar,' 13½ corge	493	30
'Dutties of Dulka,' 92 corge	5,372	2½
'Allejas,' 79[¼?] corge	7,368	27½
'Byrames blew,' 22 corge 14 pieces	1,338	2
'Chawders,' 173 corge	6,891	22
'Longees called corias[1],' 111½ corge	1,095	8
Stuffs of various sorts	4,199	2
'Eramees,' 75 corge	1,331	8
'Shashees,' 116 pieces	1,486	25½
'Longees,' 11 corge 16 pieces	273	19
'Baftaes narrowe,' 80 corge	4,561	0
'Indicoe Jambusar[2],' 12 churls	1,132	10½
'Shashes,' 50 corge	1,220	0
'Gumlacke one stickes, called ruslake[3],' 107 small maunds 29 seers	1,211	[ ]
'Seribaffes,' 100 pieces	560	14
Looking glasses, 25	229	0
Knives, 336	156	0
Broadcloth	7,122	0
Tobacco, 155 maunds at 4 m. 18 p.	707	[6]
Fowling-pieces, &c.	185	[ ]
Sword-blades, 791	3,396	[ ]
Shashes, 4 bales (prize goods, not rated)	—	—
Cash	300	0
	66,747	[ ]
Deduct: Broad cloth not sent	284	[ ]
Mahmūdīs	66,463	[ ]

(1 *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES, ABOARD THE *DRAGON* IN SWALLY ROAD, TO WILLIAM NICHOLLS AT ACHIN, FEBRUARY 15, 1619 (*O. C.* 754).[4]

Forward the Company's instructions addressed to him; also His Majesty's letter to the King of Achin about presents.[5] The invoice

[1] Perhaps Hind. *korā*, 'plain, unbleached.' On *lungīs* (waist-cloths) see *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., p. 519.

[2] Jāmbusar, in Broach district, was formerly a centre of indigo export.

[3] Crude lac (Hindi *ras*, 'crude').

[4] There is a copy in *Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2122 (*f.* 27).

[5] Consisting of dogs, spangles, and a brass cannon nine feet long, with a bore of two feet, which had been sent in response to the request made by the King of Achin in a letter

will show what goods have been laden on the *Dragon* for Achin and Tiku, in addition to 12,000 rials for the former place. They request advice of the sales of the Surat commodities, as a guide for future investments. Have sent as much steel as they could procure; also five maunds of opium for trial. The *Expedition* accompanies the *Dragon* in hope of procuring lading on the coast of Calicut. Refer him to Capt. Bonner and Mr. Fursland for particulars. News received from Masulipatam that the Dutch report the expulsion of the English from Tiku and their own acceptance instead; if true, they rely on Nicholls to set matters right. (*Original. Seal. 2 pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL, ABOARD THE *DRAGON* IN SWALLY ROAD, TO THE PRESIDENT AT BANTAM, FEBRUARY 15, 1619 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2122, *f.* 26).

They have been looking for the promised ship from Bantam with spices, &c., which would be all the more profitable now that trade has been opened with the Red Sea as well as Persia. Request also patterns and particulars of Surat goods vendible with them. They are sorry to hear of the insolence of the Dutch. 'They are heare hitherto more [ ] and now discouraged for want of supply of shipp[ing], for since Vanderbrooke cast away his shipp on [this] coast no other of ther nacion hath beene heare. They [pretend] to expecte dayly, butt wee shall be very glad there come not any except in the time of our shippes beinge heare, and they inabled, as well by authorytie as strength, to force restitution of your receaved wronges, concerninge which the Lord Embassadour, Sir Thomas Roe, hath had conference with ther people heare, thatt seemed to [give] assurance by promise for the[r] securitie.'[1] (*Copy. 3½ pp.*)

to King James brought home by Keeling in May, 1617. The Company agreed with Thomas Pitt to make the gun at a cost of about 200*l.*; but it turned out a failure, and the King, finding it 'soe thin of substance as not to be shott of, he estemed it nothing worth, nor woulde except of it'. He seems, however, to have retained it. Dampier, when at Achin in 1690, heard that there were brass guns at the palace which had been presented by King James; and Mr. Dudley Hervey, C.M.G., tells me that when he was there in 1870 he saw lying just inside the gates of the palace a gun bearing the name of King James, the date 1617, and an inscription stating that it had been made by William and Richard Pitt. There can be little doubt that this was the identical piece sent out by the Company in 1618.

[1] See *The Embassy*, p. 518 *n*.

Directions from the Surat Factors to Messrs. Salbank, Heynes and Wallis, bound for the Red Sea, February 15, 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 28).

To pay due regard to any instructions they may receive from Roe. To prevent embezzlement of goods. To call at Socotra on their way and procure fifty quintals of aloes, and four or five quintals of sanguis draconis. They are also to deliver a letter from King James to the King of Socotra, together with a suitable present. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

Directions to Mr. Fursland and other Merchants of the Fleet, February 15, 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 29).

To deliver to William Nicholls the goods intended for Achin, together with the royal letter and present for the King. Disposal of the *Expedition* if the expected supply of pepper be not procured at Bhatkal. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

Robert Price, Purser of the *Expedition*, at Surat to the Company, [February, 1619?] (*Abstract only. Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i. p. 12).

The voyage of the *Expedition* to Persia and back. He accuses the master and others of purloining goods from the prizes, but commends Chamberlain, the steward. (¼ *p.*)

William Martin [at Surat?] to the Company, February 15, 1619 (*Ibid.*).

He was employed in buying calicoes at Broach. Details of purchases. (½ *p.*)

List of Prize Goods taken by the *Expedition*, February 15, 1619 (*Marine Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iv. No. 6).

Delivered at Surat: logwood, betlenut, coco-nuts and copper basins. Intended for England: cinnamon, benzoin, China roots, tin, [ ] linens. Spent in the voyage or dispersed among the fleet: rice, coco-nuts, gunny (for sails), sugar, rack and wine. List of goods missing. (1¼ *pp.*)

SIR THOMAS ROE AT SURAT TO THE GOVERNOR OF MOKHA, FEBRUARY 16, 1619 (*O. C.* 755).

He received his letters [*see* p. 44] with much joy. 'Ther hath alway beene good respondence and ametye betweene His Majestie of England and the Grand Signior, and it is reason all their good subjects should by all meanes maynteyne it; and wheras entercourse and trafique is the principall bond of amitye, wee doe desier on our parts to resort yearly to your port, ther to trade in love and frendship as honest merchants.' He doubts not the Governor will confirm the privileges granted last year, and procure the like and more ample from the Grand Signior and the Pasha of Synan [*see* p. 33], whereby the English may be encouraged to bring all sorts of goods, as well from Europe as spices from the southwards and cloth from India, 'by which meanes your port wilbe more famous and become the mart of all Asia.' Declares in the name of His Majesty that this the English mean to perform, and 'keepe your seaes and ports from all troubles to our uttmost, and not to molest nor doe injurie to any people or merchants your allies trading to your port, the Portugalls (our utter enemies) onely excepted'. At his request Roe has sent the same men as last year, and trusts he will receive them as friends. 'Herein you shall doe according to your honourable name, and procure great proffitt and quiett to your port.' (*A signed copy.* 1 *p.* *Printed in* '*The Embassy*', p. 515.)

CAPTAIN ROBERT BONNER, ABOARD THE *DRAGON* IN SWALLY ROAD, TO THE COMPANY, FEBRUARY 17, 1619 (*Abstract only. Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i. p. 13).

He touched at St. Lawrence [Madagascar] July 13, 1618, and inquired for David Middleton[1]; also searched for 'saunderwood[2]',

[1] David Middleton sailed from Bantam for England in the *Samaritan*, April 3, 1615. A rumour from Dutch sources affirmed that she had been wrecked on Madagascar, that her crew had succeeded in getting on shore with the goods, and that one of them had been seen by the Dutch at the port of 'Casseen' (Kishin) in Southern Arabia (*Letters Received*, vol. v. p. 159, vol. vi. p. 50); and some years later (see Jeffries' letter of Nov. 18, 1621) came a report that she had been lost at Mauritius. Evidently the Company had instructed Bonner to make inquiries for the castaways.

[2] Linschoten (following Marco Polo) declares that Madagascar has 'great store of woodes of redde sandale, which are there little esteemed for the great abundance'. It was probably this passage that prompted Bonner's search.

but found none. Obtained, however, 'good refreshing' there in barter for silver chains. Masts must be looked to; he broke his foremast. The Portuguese recovered most of their money and some ordnance from the sunken carrack.[1] Hearing of an English youth at Casseen [Kishin], he wrote to him to come to Socotra to meet the next fleet. A ship should be sent to discover Melinda [Malindi]. No tortoise shells were found at the Comera [Comoro] islands. Small bells are the best commodities to barter for victuals there. 'Giles James, a swaggerer and wrangler, much discommended.' They were unable to touch at Socotra, owing to bad weather. Arrived at Surat September 17, having lost eight men since leaving the Cape. The *Expedition* sailed for Jask October 30, and arrived there November 22. Not less than four ships should compose the Surat fleet, to repel Portuguese attacks. They should be fitted with 'sheerehooks[2], etc., to keepe off bording'; also 'langrill[3] and chaine shott'. The *Expedition* returned January 10, having surprised two Portuguese frigates. Some of the prize goods were purloined. The value of them all was 3772*l.* 2*s.*, of which the ship's company demanded one-sixth, but were denied; they, however, had the pillage of both frigates. The factory at Tiku dissolved, but he hopes to re-establish it. His biscuit and beer 'starke and stincking'. Not more than one mastiff should be sent in a ship. Intended trade at Bhatkal. Richard Fursland praised. Disposal of the prize goods. (¾ *p.*)

William Hoare[4] to the Company (*O. C.* 856).

Narrates the proceedings of Bonner's fleet from the time of their leaving Surat. 'The *Dragon* and other shippes of that fleete parting with the *Anne* the 17 Februarie 1618 [1619], the 24th[5] following

[1] Destroyed by Joseph's fleet in 1616 (see *Letters Received*, vol. v. p. 142, &c.).

[2] 'A kind of sickle, formerly applied to the yardarms for cutting the rigging of a vessel running on board' (Smyth's *Sailor's Word Book*).

[3] Case-shot filled with rough pieces of iron and used to damage an enemy's rigging and sails.

[4] A factor in Capt. Bonner's fleet. His letter, written about May, 1620, has been printed in Purchas's first volume (p. 656), though with some mistakes. We have here extracted the portion relating to the fleet's voyage down the western coast of India, and its attempts to trade at Dābhol, Bhatkal, &c.

[5] The 21st, according to Purchas's version.

anchored before the roade and towne of Dabull (yt being formerlie ordered by consulltacion to touch there); and not long after came a boate from the Governors deputie to learne what and whence we were, whereof being certifyed, he agayne retourned ashoare, and toward night a grave man, captain of a juncke then in the roade, laden and bound for the Red Sea, with his sonne came aboord, bringing ten oxen, ten goates, 300 hens, with great store of rice, fruits etc. for a present, to confer with our captain about such thinges as should be propounded ; and that night they lodged aboord. The morrowe affter (they remayning for pledges) Mr. Sallbancke and Mr. Fursland went ashoare to the Deputie (the Governor himselfe being then at court eight dayes journye distant). The cheiffes of the town, as they affirmed, entertayned them verye kindlie, professing likewise they were much contented with the English arrivall, and had long desired to have commerce with them; and to that end entreated to have a factorye lefft, or the shippes to ryde til notice therof might be given the Governor, because without his approbation they could not conclude of anye thinge. We had at this place great store of verye good refreshing indifferentlie cheape; large beeves for six rials per peece, and fruits, etc., great plentie for small prices. But none of the old remains in the *Lyon* would vend. Yet upon future hopes, they promising fayrelie to deale heerafter for large quantetyes of broadcloath, leade, and other English comoditye, Captain Bonner deferred inforcing, advizing thereof to Suratt, that the next yeares fleete might doe to them as occasion required. The 26th the forsaid noghoda [Pers. *nākhudā*, 'a skipper'] landed, to whome was given a fayre inlayd muskett with the furniture thereof. He allso earnestlie desired an English bible, which being given he said he would carefullie keepe till some English were there resident, and then with their helpe would have yt translated into Arabecke for his owne use. It hath beene, I presume, long since related unto your Worships how that during your fleetes abode at Swallee two Mallabar frigotts putt themselves under commaund of your shippes, affirming themselves subjects to a Ragia of Echaree [*see* p. 56] neere Goa, and pretending to be sent by the King their master to capitulate with the English about establishing a trade with him for pepper, his countrey, by their report, yeilding yearlie sufficient to lade two

good shippes; the tryall wherof being by consultacion assented to, they both attended the fleete to this place. And heere one of them desired leave to depart before to the King to advize of our comminge, that his pepper might be in the more readinesse against our arrivall, and that an English marchant might accompany him to view the comodity and cutt price with the Kinge, for whome sufficient hostage should be left aboord the *Dragon*; which was likewise agreed upon. Mr. Wight, marchantt, and John Tucker with him for linguist, were dispeeded with him, and eight of the prime men in both frigotts left for pledges. The *Lyon* being formerlie disposed of for the Red Sea, yt was ordered that she should keepe the other shippes company to Dabull, there to vent (yf possible) partt or all those remains brought from the Red Sea, for readie monye, or to force them trade, and the proceede therof to be toward lading the *Expedition* with pepper at Batacala. But the unfittnesse of those comodityes for the Dabulleers, their fayre promises and kind usage, procured their quiett this yeare. For which cause the *Lyons* company being judged needlesse anye farther, the 27 present shee was dispeeded upon her voyage. But before her departure 600*l.* sterling, intended to be transported to Suratt, was detayned for speedier lading the *Expedition*. Having left letters to be sent to Suratt, toward night the *Dragon* etc. sett sayle, intending next for Batacala.' No news at Dābhol of Thomas Sprage. 'The first of March we anchored at Batacala, shooting three peeces to give notice of our arrivall. And the next daye, about noone, Mr. Wight with the other Mallabar frigott came aboord, by whom we understood that at the Kings towne (some three dayes journey thence) was pepper to the quantitie of 150 toons or upward, but the price was held hard at 50 rials of eight per candee, and would not be brought lower then 47, the pepper worse then that of Tecooe, and in all likelihood he had noe intent to sell, but to keepe yt for the Portingalls with whome he hath continuall trade, and this to be but a device off those rovers to free themselves from commaund of the English. The candee at this place contayneth nete 500 pounds. Our hopes of this place prooving noe better, the 3d present we sett sayle thence. Running along this coast, we sawe and mett with many jonckes of the Mallabars, and not finding ought in them save coquonutts and such trash, presentlie

dismissed them, one excepted belonging to the Samoryn, which Captain Bonner caused to retourne with him, the sooner to procure satisfaction for goods and debts left there by Peeter Needham etc. [*see* p. 56]; which juncke certifyed of another of the Samoryns, laden with pepper, ryding at Panana[1], some 12 leagues to the southward of Callicutt, and bound for the Red Sea; at which place allso the Samoryn then kept his court. Where arriving the 10th ditto, a messenger was sent to advertize the shippes arrivall, to require satisfaction for his debts etc., and to renue a trade with us; all which motions he seemed willing to entertayne, promising the 12th following to meete and confer with Captain Bonner upon the shoare neere the sea syde, and after an ende made of the old to begin a new businesse. The King came at the tyme prefixed (having the daye before drawne ashoare and unladen his juncke, shee riding within a river at the mouth whereof was a great barr hindering our seizing her), whom Captain Bonner (attended with a guard of 50 small shott etc.) mett, delivered our Kings Majesties letter with a present to him; and after long debating yt was concluded that in regard we knew not the some due by goods left with him and others, not having any notice thereof, the payment should be deferred till information from Needham might be procured; and with advice of his merchantt, consented to sell us pepper, at present seven or eight hundred candees or more, at 30 rials of eight, free of all charges (the candee we found, by tryall therof with our English weights, to contayne 502 pounds nete). He[r]eupon resolving, yt was concluded that the next daye Mr. Wight and myselfe should view the quantetie and quallitie of the comoditie, which we were to certifye Captain Bonner (then aboord the small pinnace neere the shore), who would thereupon have landed monye etc. and gone to weying. But that night the Kings mind changed, and we landing earlie next morning were refused sight thereof, unlesse the King gave expresse order thereto; to whome allsoe going, he demaunded when our captain would land, which we certifyed him would not be till we had seene the pepper and could judge of the quantetie, and that then we would make signe for his comminge. He then sent us back with one of his kinsmen to the merchantts howse, willing us there to staye

[1] Ponāni, in lat. 10° 47′, at the mouth of a river of the same name.

till he eyther came himselfe or sent order for dispatch; but there we attended while past noone, and then not hearing ought, retourned to the King, who by his jurabassa[1] fell to discoursing of our countrey manners, had tumblers playing before him, and with such trifling delayes putt of the tyme untill neere four afternoone, when we entreated him to give us answer, that we might retourne to the captain, who all this while expected our comminge. Wherupon, taking us asyde into a roome from sight of his people, he told us that he had manye matters of import whereof to confer with the captain, which he would not have his owne people to take notice off, and to that end had appointed a privatt howse to be prepared for his entertaynement not farr from his court; and therefore willed that Mr. Wight should tarrye and accompany him presentlie thether, and that I should returne to the captain and bring him to the place assigned. I desired to see yt, but he refused, appointing one of his attendants to goe with me to the sea syde, there to tarrye Captain Bonners landing and conduct him to the foresaid howse. But by the way considering how indiscreete yt would seeme to motion his going to a place I had neyther seene nor knewe, especiallie in such a treacherous place, I told my companion that unlesse I might first see where the King intended to meete, I would not advize the captains landing. He, perceiving me resolute, left me and directed one of his slaves to shewe yt, who lead me neere two English miles uppe into the countrey, and at length brought me to a little howse (but handsome ynough), sited in midst of a small wood, about which was a fayre playne a quarter of a mile everye waye, and without that round environed with thicke and hye woodes; which place ministring justlie great cause of suspition, I retourned to the King, whom I mett upon the waye, with 40 or 50 attendants comming thether with him; allso Mr. Wight, to whom I shewed my opynion of the place and that yt nowe grewe late, and therefore nothing to be done that night. Comming to the howse, the King sate a good while musing without speaking, when we desired leave to depart, yt being now neere night and past tyme for the captains landing, and that yf he pleased we would agayne retourne on the morrowe, as allso certifie his desire of privatte conference with the captain;

[1] Interpreter (Malay *jurubahâsa*, 'master of speech').

but withall intreated that we might loose noe more dayes, but that according to his former conclusion we might dispatch our businesse. After a little pause, he commaunded all his owne people out of the roome, leaving none but Mr. Wight, John Tucker, linguist, and my selfe. The doores being shutte, he beckned us, and then readelie finding his Porteguise toung (till then concealed) told us resolutelie that he could not performe at the price contracted for, the pepper being none of his but the merchantts of the towne, and that under 40 rials of eight the candee he could not accomplish; and yf they or anye other would sell cheaper he gave licence thereto, but yf none, then at that price himselfe would furnish; and that he would satisfie his debt when we could certifye how much and wherfore yt was due. Allsoe that he had other businesse to confer with the captain, which he said should not be mentioned unlesse himselfe were present. With which answer we retourned aboord to Captain Bonner, who sent him word ashoare by one of his servants who came with us, that the English should largelie paye themselves upon his jonckes both for the goodes he detayned and for this abuse allsoe. The 14th March we departed hence. The 19th anchored at Brinion [*see* p. 1], where fayling off refreshing or water, the people, by the Portingalls instigation, refusing to lett our caske be filled under 80 rials of eight, the 20th alltogeather sett sayle, and that night doubled Cape Comoryn.'... (5½ *pp. The rest of this long letter deals with events at Tiku, the capture of the 'Dragon', &c., by the Dutch, the death of Capt. Bonner, and the writer's homeward voyage in the 'Rose'.*)

LIST OF GOODS SENT FROM AGRA TO SURAT UNDER THE CHARGE OF JOHN BANGHAM, FEBRUARY 20, 1619 (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. xxiv. p. 26).

Indigo, 278 fardles. 'Samanaes,' 14 fardles. Carpets, 11 packs. 'Ambertes,' 7 fardles. 'Mandeeles[1],' 2 fardles. Sugar candy, 26 'palnaes[2]'. Total, 338 fardles = 169 camels' lading, 'wherof 99

[1] *Mandīl*, a turban-cloth woven with silk and gold thread.

[2] A puzzling term, possibly connected with Hind. *pālān*, 'a pack-saddle or dorser.' The Agra factors, under date of Dec. 15, 1619, call them 'canesters', meaning probably baskets (see *Letters Received*, vol. vi. p. 115).

camells ladinge are pucka ... 70 camells are cutcha[1], and make pucka 58; soe we pay for 157 camells ladinge pucka of 9 maunds per camell, which at 14¾ rup[ees] per camells ladinge pucka amounts to rup[ees] 2315¾.' Also sent, some loose pieces of 'ambertes' as samples, some 'mulmulls[2]', and some handkerchiefs. The 26 'terandazes[3]' have been paid for a month and a half. In addition, a horse and furniture, camel-ropes, 6 pieces 'tant[4]' and one hide to mend fardles, a 'deage[5]', 'serpoose[6],' tent and furniture, 'massack[7],' bow and arrows, &c. (1¼ *pp.*)

JOHN BANGHAM AT GWALIOR TO THE FACTORS AT SURAT, FEBRUARY 25, 1619 (*O. C.* 764).

Advises his dispatch from Agra with a caravan. 'Wee have made six manzells[8] from Agra to this place. Wee shoulde goe faster, but the muckadames[9] of the cammells are not yett come to us, wherefore theise cammellmen will make a mukame[10] here to-morrowe for them; but howsoever the next daye wee will sett forward and make what hast posible towards you. I shall expecte your farther order after receyte herof. I am sorrye to heare of John Younges disaster [*see* p. 59] etc., yett am in good hope of better sucksess, which God graunt. If the waye twixte Brampoare and Surratt bee growne soe dangerous, havinge your order I will hire ten bundauckdares[11] there. As for Daytah[12], I knowe not howe the case standes with us there at present, but expecte to heare from you betimes.' (*Signed copy.* 1 *p.*)

[1] A very early example of English use of the well-known antithesis of *kachchā* (raw, temporary, slight) and *pakkā* (ripe, permanent, solid).

[2] Hind. *malmal*, muslin.

[3] Hind. *tīrandāz*, an archer.

[4] Hind. *tānt*, thread, fibre, &c.

[5] Hind. *dīg*, a large cooking-pot.

[6] Hind. *sarpūsh*, a cover.

[7] Hind. *mashak*, a leathern water-bag.

[8] Marches or stages (Arabic *manzil*, 'alighting').

[9] *Mukaddam*, a head-man or leader.

[10] *Maqām*, a halt; cp. Finch (*Purchas*, vol. i. p. 424), 'which made us make *mukom*' (marg. note '*mukom*, stay for refreshing').

[11] *Bandūqdār*, a musketeer. Bangham had in the first instance written 'shott'.

[12] Dhāita, on the road from Burhānpur to Surat, near the junction of the Surpīnī River with the Tāptī. Here Partab Shāh, the chief of Bāglān, levied transit dues on all caravans, though Roe had recently obtained a *farmān* from him promising exemption for English goods (*Letters Received*, vol. vi. p. 131).

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT AHMADĀBĀD, FEBRUARY 26 AND 28 1619 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2122, *f.* 29).

Early provision of goods necessary. Supply of quilts, bloodstones, and chintz hangings. They criticize Roe's lists of goods to be purchased. 'And now agayne wee may beegin our last yeares lamentation for our dwellinge house. Our landlord will nott his [*sic*], nor the cheifes permitte us any of strength, eather to defend ourselves or offend them. One was profered, much better then thatt wee have, butt they consent not nor provide us other. His Lordshipp continewed there frindship to the Companies cost; presented the King, Prince and others heare, att his cominge downe, in sundrye toyes to the vallew of [ ] sterlinge, as itt cost in England, to no other pur[pose] then requite ther curtesy for his garden house[1], and yett the rent is unpayed. So wee doubt not his kindnesse will prove a charge[able] custome for bribes to these officers.' As to the provision of calico at Dholka. 'The Company desires greater quantetyes of broad baftas then can bee provided in Barroch [Broach]. Wee shall experience Brodera [Baroda], as well in [that] as sundry other commodities, and thinke you shall do [well] to make tryall in Dulka. [Wee wish] if possible cloth of double the breadthe of dutty. Our broker is of oppinion the workemen of Cambay may bee induced to make 1½ (?) covids broad, which wee pray you experience.' Directions for accounts. 'The prizes ladinge by the Persian factors and the comander and many of the com[pany?] imbesseled and converted to particular uses. Only wee weare no sharers. His Lordshipp had a whole butt of China dishes, a guilded bedsteed and such like noviltíes, that stopt the examinacion of othere more private passages.'[2] They send copies of consultations and instructions

[1] Roe had stipulated (see p. 38) that a suitable dwelling should be found for him; and Terry (*Voyage to India*, p. 201), after describing the pleasant abodes of the wealthier natives, with their gardens, tanks, &c., adds: 'in such a garden-house, with all those accommodations about it, my Lord Ambassadour lay with his company at Surat the last three moneths before he left East India.'

[2] The factors did not dare to make this ridiculous charge against Roe in their letters to the Company; but as copies of all correspondence were sent home, they no doubt counted upon its coming to their masters' notice in this indirect fashion.

drawn by Roe, to which they consented 'for avoydinge of his accustomed bitter cavelacions, experienced by refusinge subscripcion to some other of like nature'. Dispatch of the fleet for Achin and Bantam. Dispute over a bargain for ivory. (*Copy*. 5 *pp*.)

GOODS TO BE PROVIDED FOR PERSIA (*Ibid*., *f*. 51).

In Agra: Shashes[1], white and striped; sugar powder and sugar candy; and 'chintes of sundry sortes'. In Ahmadābād: 'chintes'; raw dutties of Dholka; writing paper; ginger, 'mirabalons and billes [*see* p. 10] in conserves.' In Broach: White calicoes, and 'eramees' [*see* p. 62]. In Surat: Steel, including 'long gades[2] called henselle' and 'round peeces called butt' [*see* p. 88]; dry ginger; ginger, 'mirabilons and billes in conserves'; shashes; cassia fistula; turmeric; cardamoms; 'lacke for dyers'; dutties; 'nashader[3] or saleramoniacke'; 'chintes of Brampore'; pepper; iron; opium; tamarinds; gunny; cotton wool. N.B.—No bale is to exceed in weight 130 lbs. avoirdupois, or four Surat maunds. (*Copy*. 2 *pp*.)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO [WILLIAM] MARTIN AT BROACH, MARCH 6, 1619 (*Ibid*., *f*. 52).

Has received his letter 'with our coach return'. He is to buy sixty maunds of cardamoms without delay. (*Copy*. ½ *p*.)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT MASULIPATAM, MARCH 8, 1619 (*Ibid*., *f*. 52).

They agree that no further attempt should be made to trade at Calicut. Captain Bonner, 'if he can meete with any vessales belonginge to the Samorine, will indeavore restitucion for the former remaynes left in his cuntry to ballance thatt accompte.' The Dutch at Surat 'seemed peaceable, or elce there wantinge occacions keepeth them more quiett; whose expectacion of supply from

[1] Turban-cloths. [2] The term 'gad' was applied to both bars and ingots.
[3] Pers. *nishādur*, 'sal-ammoniac.'

southwards hath not beene lesse (if not more) then those with you, butt for what reason fayled, excepte through feare of our shippes heare, or unitinge there forces for defence att Bantam, wee conceave nott, and themselves suspecte. The former of which oppinions, by the departure of our fleete, and there accustomed unseasonable cominge, giveth still hope to them, and to us distrust, that have allready found them, so far as there meanes doth extend, busie intenders unto all partes and places of our trad and co[mmerce?]; which, seeinge wee cannott alltogether avoyd, shall yett indeavour by elder experience to prevente.' They think a firm attitude at Bantam will force the Dutch to 'recollecte there senses for a more safe and moderate arbytracion'. Dale's fleet has extorted 90,000 rials from a Goa carrack [*see* p. 53]. They consider Bantam must be well able to supply Masulipatam. It might be well, however, to advise the Company to arrange that one of the fleet should yearly touch at Masulipatam on her way from Surat to Bantam. In that case, they request particulars of goods suitable for that market and their prices. Events since their last letter. Return of the *Expedition* from Persia with 11 [*should be* 71] bales of silk, which have been sent to England in the *Anne*. The factors there give a hopeful account of the prospects of trade. Prizes taken by the *Expedition*, but many of the goods were embezzled. The fleet sailed on February 17. The *Anne* is bound for England, 'and in her Sir Thomas Roe, Gabriell Towerson, Richard Steele and the English weomen.' Her cargo for the old joint stock's account (besides the silk from Persia) amounts to 613,311 mahmūdīs, 18 p[ice], and for the new joint stock 106,932 mahmūdīs, 14 [pice]. The *Dragon* has on board goods invoiced at 211,613 mahmūdīs, 22 [pice]; and with her go the *Lion* and *Expedition*. They are to stop at Dābhol, and, if refused trade there, to proceed to Bhatkal, where a supply of pepper is promised. They hope the *Dragon* will at Achin procure the re-establishment of trade at Tiku. As regards the Company's desire of Bengala silk, they have sent them some patterns from Agra, but request that inquiry may be made also at Masulipatam. Thomas Sprage, who was sent by Roe to the Deccan in pursuit of certain Persian debtors, on his return met a Portuguese named Soares, who demanded an account of certain china ware which he had left at Burhānpur in the hands of Nicholas

Bangham, and which at the latter's departure had been entrusted to Sprage. He 'having consumed the same, and not able to give account, is fled both from him and our masters service, without givinge any account or relacion of his Decann progress, and, as wee are informed, is agayne returned into Decann, in company with a villayne, a Portingall Musquette'. They request that the Masulipatam factors will 'advice Cornelius the Dutchman att Vicepore [1]', that he be not induced to lend the fugitive money. If he arrive at Masulipatam, they request that he be apprehended and word sent to Surat. (*Copy.* 5 *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, WILLIAM BIDDULPH, THOMAS RASTELL AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, MARCH 12 AND 13, 1619 (*O. C.* 777).[2]

They wrote at length by the *Anne* [p. 50], but as that letter may miscarry and they have now an opportunity of sending by a different route, they will run over again the most material points. Arrival of Bonner's fleet, and distribution of its cargo. A glut of broadcloth in India, though 'the price is not much stood on (when wanted), beeing used by the King and nobillity'. Supply should be intermitted for a year. Reds, greens and yellows are most in favour, in that order. Kerseys are in fair demand, but 'bayes is of little use'. Dispute with the 'Customer' over the ivory, two thousand maunds of which will sell yearly. The 'Customer' has detained all their lead, 'with intente or pretence to buy itt'; but he will not give the price they ask. Of the tin half was sent to Persia, and the rest landed. Supply of coral, hides, beads, quicksilver, and vermilion. Sword-blades, guns, knives, strong waters, &c., should be sent only for use as presents. Cochineal, pearls, bonelace, gloves, &c., are unprofitable; also 'chamletts mohares' and other Turkey goods, which come more cheaply from Mokha. Satins will sell, but tapestry, pictures, gold lace and so on yield more vexation than

[1] Bījāpur. The person alluded to is probably the 'Dutchman, great with the King' mentioned in *Letters Received*, vol. v. pp. 174, 323.

[2] This letter, sent by a native junk to Mokha for conveyance overland, is partly written in cipher (explained by the factors as being 'your carracters sent forth on Captain Bests voyage'), but the disguise is very thin. A longhand copy will be found in *Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2122.

gain. 'The conditions concluded by Sir Thomas Roe with these cheefes concerning them is that such parte as they shall like for their masters use bee pactt upp together, sealed with their seale, and delivered the appointed agent to carrie upp unto the court, there to make sale of what the Prince shall like, as they can agree, pretending itt to reserve them only for his first sight; which how injuste you will soone perceave; and yett to this day wee cannot procure their cleereing, alleageing this protraccion to their much buisnesse for dispatch of this junck, which when departed they will perhapps bee att better leasure. This detention, as itt is an unsupportable wrong, soe itt inthralleth us to many other inconveniences and hath detaind Mr. Biddulph heere to the hindrance of the courte affairs, sale of the goods, and investing the proceede (wee feare) for the next retorne; which, if His Lordship had pleased, might long ere this have bine remedied by stopping their laste yeares junck at barr for a gennerall reformacion of all our greevances and satisfaction of all your debts abroade; which oppertunity soe omitted through the Kings departure for Agra will never againe bee obtained; the distance from hence thether soe greate will cause much expence of tyme, and that againe harte burning to both our prejudices before the King can have the heareing and determine itt; which in Amadavas (besides the reparacion, our nacions honnor, and His Lordships repute) had bine performed in fifteen or twenty daees att moste.' Disposal of the bullion brought. A reasonable quantity may be sent yearly in lieu of rials. The *Expedition*, returning from Persia, brought two Portuguese prizes, worth (irrespective of their cargoes) some two or three thousand pounds sterling. State of the Persian trade. Some English commodities will sell there, but in their opinion the large supply demanded by the factors should not be sent until further conditions be obtained. The *Anne* sold only part of her cargo at Mokha, and that at low rates. Salbank thinks, however, that a hundred broadcloths will sell there yearly. They consider that Indian and 'Southerne' commodities will do better there than English goods. As regards the situation at Surat, the papers sent by the *Anne* will show 'the poore remedie wee have receaved, not only of our former injuries, butt many others since, and thereby alsoe be ascertained of the meane grace His Lordship stood in with this King and Prince, that,

after three yeares attendance, att his departure by earnest intercession could not procure the guifte of a house nor ground, nor lycence to build us a habitation, nor soe much as continue us in this, from whence (our tyme neerely expired) wee shortly expect to bee remooved. Wee have already sought oute and obteyned from the ownner another, but these cheefes will nott consente wee shall have any nere the waterside; and elcewhere, in the inner parte of the towne, there is not any strong nor for us conveniente, excepte such as belonge to bannyanes[1], who will nott lett them; soe where to be accomodated, as yett wee know nott. The debts remayning att courte, and manner of His Lordships lycence, you have no doubt receaved relacion from them presente. What hee heather brought for the establishing of your trade (his capitulacions refused, as per our laste advised) was only a firmaen from the King, and another from the Prince; the first gennerall, for our recepcion and continuance in his domynnyons, as many others (more ample) heeretofore receaved; the latter particuler, for this porte of Suratt. The fruicts which both have produced you may please to perceave by your goods detencion these six months in customehouse, and yett unreleaced, and our dwelling uppon every triviall humor subject to change, wherof att his coming to Suratt discerning the discomodeties, hee endeavored by letters and presents to the King, Prince and nobillity to releeve us, and receaved another firmaen from the Prince to as little purpose as the former; wherby itt is evident they have commaunds of sundrie kindes and know which to obay, otherwise the Princes severitye could not be jested with by his servants; the consideracion and laste tryall wherof caused a cleerer sight of the omission paste, and himselfe to propose the juncks detencion next yeare, wherin by reason of the many difficulties beeing opposed, hee lefte itt to the discrecion off Councell (if not releeved in the premises), whoe will not easilie bee induced to attempt itt without expresse order from Your Worships to warrant itt, as well for the affiance you had in His Lordships wisedome (who though hee had authoritie could not bee induced therto himselfe), as the Kings present remote residence[2], which perhapps, through the stoping of your buisnesse err the questions decyded, might

[1] A well-known term for the Hindu traders of Gujarāt.
[2] Jahāngīr, on leaving Ahmadābād in Sept. 1618, proceeded to Agra.

cause many inconveniences, and expose the actors to more then is convenient for them to hasard. Itt may please you therfore well to consider this pointe; the debts are unlikely to be soone recovered, and these are a people that curbd wilbe brought to any reason, and if suffered in their owne wayes grow insolente and insupportable, which they excersise not on the Portingalls, that incroacheth as much on them, permitt none of their shipps to sayle without lysence, and even now since the *Anns* departure have forced the Goga junck, appertaineing to the beloved queene, to pay them 65,000 mamoodes for custome to the porte of Dieu (an antient dutie), which striveing to infringe loste her voyage the laste yeare, and made greate shew off warrs; yett after much contention have submitted againe to the yoake.' Robbery of the Agra caravan. The Kāzi, 'whoe serves as a notarye publicke,' refuses to take the testimony of the camelmen, pretending that they are interested parties; 'butt the truth is they feare to informe gainst the lord of that place, whoe is of the cheefe nobillitie.' Complaint has been made to the Governor, but no relief is yet forthcoming. During his stay at Surat Roe gave away presents to the value of 135*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.*, including some to persons who had not received any before, and will expect them in future. They are making investments for next year's ship. Cargo of the *Anne*. Their letters, registers, &c., sent by her in 'a box sealed, maled [1], and covered', entrusted to Roe for delivery to the Company. Goods dispatched to Achin in the *Dragon*. The *Lion* has taken to Mokha Indian goods to the value of over 55,000 mahmūdīs, with broadcloth, sword-blades, &c., that bring up the total to 66,463 mahmūdīs $5\frac{5}{8}$ pice. 'Upon occasion (as wee are informed) of breach of peace twixt the Portingalls and a people their neighbours some twenty leagues to the southward of Goa that are Mallabar gentiles [2], theire countrie called Ekaria and the porte Batacala,' a frigate from thence invited the English to come thither and buy their pepper and other spices [*see* p. 56]. The *Lion* is to accompany the fleet thither (calling at Dābhol on the way) to strengthen her consorts in case of treachery, and bring

[1] Mailed, i.e. sheathed in some defensive material. Our modern 'mail', applied to the transmission of packets by the post, is an interesting instance of transference of meaning.
[2] Hindus. This word and 'Gentoo' are corruptions of the Port. *Gentio* (see *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., p. 367).

news of the result. If the venture prove futile, she will take in the goods sent for barter on the *Expedition*. She is also to call at Socotra on her way to the Red Sea. The Portuguese have lately visited Swally, and are loud in their threats of what they will do next year. 'You may nott therfore bee secure, for though itt bee their custome to threaten long, they come att laste.' Rumoured expulsion of the English from Tiku. The Dutch at Surat have received no supplies, but seem to expect some soon. No further news. 'Your factories stand all in health; the plauge increaseth in Agra; the King att Fettipoore[1] within twelve course[2] therof.' The Masulipatam factors have received nothing from Bantam this year. This letter is sent via Mokha and Alexandria. They advise the Company to make arrangements with some one at the latter place to receive and forward correspondence.

POSTSCRIPT (MARCH 13).[3]

'Att instantt is arryved a messenger from Goa with letters for sondry bannians here, importing dispatch of the Portingal fleete, who att there coming foorth were five shipps, three of whome are returned laden for Lisbone, and two gallions detayned with intentt to joyne the other three built new this yeare (mencioned in our letter), and such other vessells as shalbe usefull, to possesse your road of Swally before your fleets arrivall, thereby to preventt your nextt yeares trade;[4] which maye easily be performed, there gallies and frigats comanding also the river, and yours nott possibly releeved butt by fyring there shipps within the porte of Swally; whereto good strength is expedyentt, which wee hope in your

[1] Fatehpur Sikri, twenty-three miles from Agra.

[2] *Hobson-Jobson* for *kos*, the usual measure of distance in India. It varies widely in different parts, but may be roughly taken at about two miles.

[3] In Kerridge's handwriting.

[4] This alarm was not without some justification. King Philip wrote to the Viceroy at Goa in Feb., 1618, urging that a squadron of galleons and frigates should be sent to occupy the port of Swally before the arrival of the English fleet; but the Viceroy replied a year later that he could not carry out the scheme for want of men, money, and munitions of war. In March, 1620, the King again urged the project, but the same answer was returned. Two years later he suggested that two old ships laden with stones should be sunk at the entrance of the port in order to block it; to this the Viceroy objected that such a course would probably anger the Great Mogul, and would merely drive the English to neighbouring ports. See the *Lisbon Transcripts* at I. O., *Documentos Remettidos*, vol. v.

expected fleete you have sentt, and maye nott continually relye on so smale strength as was this lastt. God wee hope will turne there mischevous attempts to theire owne ruine. Wee have written the *Lyon* of this newes, thatt shee maye be warie in her returne.' (*Seal. Endorsed as received overland January* 1, 1620. *In all* 14½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT MOKHA, MARCH 15, 1619 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2122, *f.* 62).

Forwards letters for the Company, to be dispeeded by way of Cairo and Alexandria, unless some better conveyance be found. He has also sent identical letters, one for the Venetian and the other for the French Resident at Alexandria, requesting assistance; but preference should be given to the former, as more trustworthy. The factors should advise the Company what has passed since they left Surat. Some white baftas now sent for sale. They are to buy some myrrh, spikenard, and turbith. 'The factors in Persia, advisinge for commodities there vendable, do mencion cowha[1] to be there worth 24 shahees the mand shaw[2], which mand is 12½ li. haberdepoyze and the shahee[3] the 13 parte of royall of eight.' It is also saleable at Surat; so 100 Surat maunds of the very best should be purchased. 'Since the fleets departure the frigatt armado hath beene heare, visited this juncke and taken [from] thatt of Goga 65,000 m[ahmūdīs] for hir lysence; who have diversly devulged there intente and resolucion to possesse our porte of Swally next yeare and keepe us out; which allso wee finde confirmed by letters from Goa to sundry banians heare, that advise the detencion of two gallions of the last Lisborne fleete and the preparednesse of three other new built att Damon, Basine and Goa this yeare. That att Damon arived with good artillery [ ] etc. and departinge to Goa, as is allso the other from Basseene.' The master of the *Lion* should be warned accordingly, and should do his best to advise the incoming fleet. Of course this may be mere bluster on the part of the Portuguese, but it is well to be prepared. 'Whatsoever there intentes are, with Gods assistance wee doubte not they will find as resolute hartes in our people as heartofore.' (*Copy.* 3½ *pp.*)

[1] Coffee (Arab. *qahwa*).
[2] *Man-i-shāhī* (royal maund).
[3] The *shāhī* was worth about fourpence (*Letters Received*, vol. iii. pp. 176, 326).

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT AGRA, MARCH 16, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 64).

As to the robbery of John Young's qāfila. They blame the 'Bolloches[1]' for the disaster. The robbery is believed to have been committed by 'some of Shaw Narasaus [*see* p. 60] servantes . . . under pretence of custom or radaree[2], whereof it seemes demand was made and not paid till afterwards'. They suspect the 'Bolloches' of purloining some of the packages. The 'Caze' here refuses to give the certificates necessary to make a claim for restitution, and the chiefs will not force him to do so. Directions as to accounts. They think it probably cheaper to buy lac at Agra, though 'the dana[3] and the refined lacke called chupra[4] may be procured nearer hand', as also 'the ruslacke [*see* p. 64] both on stickes and in clodes'. The first and last may now be had at Surat for about 11 or 12 mahmūdīs per maund, but if the prices at Agra, with charges added, come to about the same, they will not trouble them. They approve the factors' purchases of indigo, and urge them to buy more; also 200 pieces of 'chintes' for Persia. Directions for the quilts required; 'some, all of on kinde of chinte[5], the lyninge and upper parte of one and the same; some of differinte chintes, yet such as eather side may be used; and some to have borders only of different cullers, aboute a covide deepe, to hange by the bed side on all sides alike, and the inner parte of the quilte allso to bee both sides alike. This last is most used in India, and wee thinke will be most pleasinge in England. They must be a little thicker and stronger sticht then ordinary, for there better lastinge. Lawne quiltes wee do [not?] conceave soe fitt for England as if they were of semianoe, amberttes or sahume cloth, which will be much more lastinge, stichte with birdes, beastes or worke very thicke, such as used by the Mores insteed of carpitts. Of this sorte there comes, itt seemes, from Bengala.

[1] Balūchīs, employed as guards.

[2] Pers.-Hind. *rāhdārī*, or charge for guarding the road.

[3] Seed-lac (*lākh dānā*).

[4] Shell-lac (*chapra lākh*).

[5] It is evident from this and other passages that the factors used 'chintes' as a plural. Our 'chintzes' is therefore a reduplication. Cf. the remarks in the *Oxford Eng. Dict.*, s. v.

His Lordship had three or four which he bought at lasker [*see* p. 32 *n.*], stichte with cullered silke, that will [give] good contente in England; and wee doubte not, by bespeakinge, you will procure them to be made of such sizes as the Companies letter doth mencion.' Patterns of the proper carnation colour they cannot supply, as the dye used at Surat and Broach is too deep; but they will write to Ahmadābād to send on a pattern of theirs. 'The fittest cloth you have thereto is your amberttes; which cannot be so well liked in England as the baftaes of these partes, yett beinge for lyninge will be [better] dyed then white.' They fear the Company will find the 'ambertees' too narrow for their purposes; the 'sahume' better in this respect. They send by Biddulph patterns of baftas, 'which ar better to the uses desired in England, beeinge lesse beaten and starchte then yours, yett more in eather kind then is necessary, if wee could prevente itt.' They advise the dispatch of bills of exchange for rupees 'hundies[1]' 17,100. The present rate of exchange is 42¾ rupees per hundred mahmūdīs. (*Copy.* 3¾ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO WILLIAM MARTIN AT BROACH, MARCH 17, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 66).

They note his purchase of cardamoms, and have arranged for the payment of his bills. He is to send the five baftas for quilts, as the tailors are waiting for work. As regards the Company's house, he is to do the necessary repairs and deduct the cost from the rent. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

THE SAME TO THE FACTORS AT AHMADĀBĀD, MARCH 17, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 66).

Had hoped to send bills of exchange before this, but the dispatch of the junk has hindered the delivery of mahmūdīs, 'which now they are returned from arterra[2] wee dayly expect.' The Agra factors have invested all their cash in indigo, &c., now on its way down under John Bangham's charge. Bills of exchange are enclosed 'to be rescribed in Amadavad and sent unto them' at

[1] Hind. *hundī*, a bill of exchange; hence rupees remitted in that manner.

[2] Hind. *arthiyā*, a broker or agent.

Agra. The indigo was bought 'in the aldeas[1]' at 24 and 25 rupees per maund, 'and likly still to fall in price.' They request an expression of opinion whether in these circumstances it would not be better to buy less at Ahmadābād and more at Agra. A sample of cloth dyed carnation should be forwarded to Agra together with that now sent. Supply of ambertees, gum-lac, and camphor. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

PASS GIVEN BY THE SURAT FACTORS TO A SURAT JUNK, MARCH 22, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 67).

Recommend the bearer, 'Hacka Parracke[2], beeinge servante to Virgee Vora [Vīrjī Vōra], merchante of this cittie,' to the 'courteous usage' of all English ships. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

CAPTAIN MARTIN PRING, ABOARD THE *JAMES ROYAL*, IN THE STRAITS OF SUNDA, TO THE COMPANY, MARCH 23, 1619 (*O. C.* 784).

Forwards a copy of his previous letter [*see* p. 29]. After the departure of the *Bull*, the rest of the fleet held on their course down the west coast of India. In lat. 11° 25′ they descried the Portuguese fleet from Malacca making for Goa, and chased but could not overtake them. On April 2 [1618] they anchored in the Bay of 'Brenjan' [*see* p. 1], and spent three days taking in water, goats, hens, &c. The people are treacherous, and it would not be safe for a single ship to water there. On April 7 saw Cape Comorin. Nathaniel Salmon, master of the *Gift*, died on the 10th; he was replaced by John Hatch, while Richard Newell was made master of the *Bee*. On April 14 the latter ship was dispatched to Masulipatam. Next day the *Gift* parted company for Sumatra, leaving Pring in the *James*, with the *Francis* and a Portuguese prize, to sail direct for Bantam. On May 13 the *Francis* was cast off as unserviceable. They arrived at Bantam

[1] Villages (Port. *aldea*).

[2] Possibly Hāq Pārak. 'The Pāraks were an eminent family of *banyas* in Surat and Diu. They are often mentioned in the Company's correspondence with Surat' (*Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii. p. 151). On July 20, 1683, the Court voted to 'Bingee Parack, the Companies Banyan at Suratt', a gold medal and chain of the value of 150*l.*

June 19. [The rest of the letter deals with the quarrel with the Dutch, the siege of Jakatra, &c.] (*Holograph. 15 pp. A copy, sent via Masulipatam and Surat, is among the O. C. Duplicates.*)

Directions from the Surat Factors to Robert Hutchinson, proceeding to Baroda, March 26, 1619 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2122, *f.* 67).

'The slowe dispatch of our former yeares investment in Barroch, and the provicion which the Mogull merchantes of this and other places do usually provide in Brodra, both for the Red Sea and sowards, hath given us occacion to determine your repayre thether to experience as well the commodities of the places mencioned as the broad baftaes and other [goods?] fittinge England.' 'Haggee' [Hājī] is to accompany him as broker, and he is to take with him 2,100 mahmūdīs in bills and cash. On arrival he is to procure musters of the goods required and forward them to Surat; and further 'to publish unto the brokers and wollners of the towne your intente to sett them a worke in the makinge of broade baftaes such as wee now provide att Barroch'. He should give out 1,500 mahmūdīs to four or five of the most sufficient brokers, and urge them to start work at once. Kerridge will come up later 'to indeavore the lowe cuttinge of the first prices', &c. They have delivered patterns to the broker, and ordered others from Broach. List of musters to be provided at Baroda. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

Thomas Kerridge, Thomas Rastell, and Giles James at Surat to William Martin at Broach, March 26, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 68).

Request him to deliver patterns of certain cloths to Robert Hutchinson. Money due from the brother of the Governor of Broach. They hope to hear how many broad baftas he has ready, and as to the prices. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

Thomas Kerridge and Thomas Rastell at Surat to William Martin at Broach, April 1, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 68).

His bills have been paid, and he may draw for more. Purchase of cardamoms. Of the baftas sent, the coarse are extremely dear, and the fine not very cheap. Have sent him bills for 8,000

mahmūdīs. 'Wee are sorry your governor hath the customes of Borroch, fearinge he will be worse then hearetofore.' (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO JOHN BANGHAM, APRIL 2, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 68).

Learning the trouble he has had on his way [from Agra] to Burhānpur, they send one of their brokers 'to cleere your goods att Dayta [*see* p. 74] and Badore[1], which are the places of greatest toll twixt this and Brampore'. Biddulph and John Young left Surat four days ago for Agra, and will doubtless have told him all the news. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT MASULIPATAM, APRIL 4, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 69).

Wrote last on March 8 [*see* p. 76]. The quantities specified in their list of goods to be provided for Tiku seem unduly low. 'The iron you mention to be called looha boot[2] is not heare knowne. A sorte of steele heare is called by that name, made up in another forme, wayinge 4¾ seare of 18 p[ice] the seare, and is worth at presente 24 m[ahmūdīs the] corge or skore. . . . Heare is allso another sorte of [steel] that is called hensta[3], which is drawne longer, in gads like the skoole ferrel, and weyeth neare aboute 2½ seare the peece, worth some 11 m[ahmūdīs the] corge.' They request further details. If any intelligence comes from Bantam of Surat goods vendible there, they would be glad to hear as soon as possible. (*Copy.* 1¾ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO WILLIAM BIDDULPH, &C. [AT BURHĀNPUR?], APRIL 6 AND 7, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 69).

Have learnt by his and John Bangham's letters of the detention of the caravan at Burhānpur by 'that neast of rouges', and his

[1] Bhadwar. Finch (*Purchas*, vol. i. p. 424) places it 10 *kos* east of Dhāita and 7 *kos* west of Nandurbār; he describes it as 'a filthy towne and full of theeves'. He also says that 'this towne is the last of note in Pectopshaws [Partab Shāh; see p. 74 *n.*] land', which accounts for the levying of tolls there.

[2] Hind. *lōhā*, 'iron,' and *botā*, 'a lump or piece.' The ironworker of Gujarāt is still called a *lōhār*.

[3] The 'henselle' of p. 76 and 'henslaus' of p. 94. The derivation is not known.

intention to proceed thither to effect its liberation. Request him to procure the arrest of Sprage, who seems to be largely responsible. Soares[1] has also sent a 'Patan' [Pathān] to Surat to make a claim on them for the china delivered to Nicholas Bangham, producing vouchers confirmed by 'the unradall[2] and cazee' of Burhānpur. This is 'much instanced by [this] Governor, etc., the lawe of this cuntry compellinge all principalls to make good there respondantes actes'; but they are resolved not to accept the responsibility or make any satisfaction for a private debt. They think it might do good if he could 'lay hould of and imprison Musqueete' on some charge or other, 'who hath beene the whole cause and awthor of this mischeefe.' Sprage should be sent down in irons to Surat, on the strength of the Prince's farmān permitting them to do justice on any English wrongdoer. They send herewith for this purpose the farmāns from the King and Prince, and a petition from them in Persian to 'Cancana' [*see* p. 59 *n.*]. Their broker, hearing of the troubles, has returned; so, if the caravan be released, Biddulph must send word, in order that they may arrange for the payment of the tolls, 'which att Dayta is one m[ahmūdī] uppon a camell, and a quarter att Badare.' John Young may return with the caravan, if thought desirable. 'Wee have of late had some trouble with Isake Beage and [the] rest, who, perceavinge our intentes for investments, have published a generall prohibycion and imposed penalty on all the brokars, as well of Brodera and Barroch as of this place and Nunsery[3], that sell the English any cloth, and written allso the governors of the said places to that effecte; whereof complayninge, they pretended it [ ] for the Red Sea commodities, and will not indure our trade [thither]; for the rest they seeme to permitt our buyinge [in Bar]roch a[s her]etofore.' They have at last obtained a certificate from the local authorities regarding the goods taken from the previous caravan, and it is sent herewith. They request that the farmāns may be copied and returned. *P.S.*—The Governor

[1] Francisco Soares, at whose instigation the English caravan had been arrested, was a Portuguese merchant who appears to have been engaged in bringing jewels to the court from Goa and other places. Roe calls him 'the prodigal Portugall', and mentions that he was about to marry Mrs. Towerson's aunt (*Letters Received*, vol. vi. p. 141).

[2] This is evidently the copyist's mistake for 'miradall', i. e. *Mīr-adl*, 'Chief Justice.'

[3] Nosārī or Nausārī, in Baroda territory, about twenty miles south of Surat.

promised to give them a letter to the Khānkhānān on their behalf, but in lieu thereof has this morning sent them 'a threatning of constraynte if wee come not to agreement with the Pattan'. They mean to return 'a resolute deniall'. They forward a letter (open) to the Khānkhānān explaining matters. (*Copy.* 3¼ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES TO 'THE OFFICERS OF SURATTE', APRIL 6, 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 71).

Have examined the papers sent to them regarding the claim for china entrusted to Nicholas Bangham, but find it is entirely a private transaction. The claim against the Company is manifestly a plot, and the witnesses are Armenians, 'that are ignorante of our customs and affayres.' If, however, they deem it just, 'you have goods in your power of our masters to satisfie it, but not with our consentes thereto, nor can wee give allowance. . . . It is very well knowne wee pay where wee owe, without compulcion.' They request a letter to the Khānkhānān that the fugitive [Sprage] may be delivered to them, in accordance with the Prince's farmān, and that restitution may be made for the loss of goods and their servants 'in his sonnes jeaugeere[1]'. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

THE SAME TO JOHN BANGHAM AT BURHĀNPUR, APRIL 7, 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 72.)

Are sorry to hear of his mischance (for which he is not in any way to blame), and hope that Biddulph on his arrival will be able to put matters straight. They have accepted his bill, and will see to its payment. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

PETITION OF THE ENGLISH RESIDENT IN SURAT TO 'THE LORD CANCANA, SHIELD OF THE SOULDERS', APRIL 8, 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 72).

An English caravan from Agra of 1,600 camels is detained at Chopra[2], and the Englishman in charge carried back to Burhānpur, at the suit of a Portuguese who claims to have left certain china two years ago with the English residing in that city. They urge that if the allegation were true, Soares ought to have made his

[1] Pers. *jāgīr*, an assignment of land and the income derived therefrom.

[2] On the road from Burhānpur to Surat, about sixty miles from the former city.

claim before the person to whom he entrusted the goods embarked for England; and they think the whole matter has been concocted by 'an Armenian fugitive from the Kinge of Persia, a runaway Portingall called Musquette, and an English servante fled from us'. 'The Cristians law in this case injoyneth the receavers to satisfaction only, [as] doth that allso of the Musellman, according whereto [we] doubt not Your Honnors sentence, which our brother Mr. Biddulph, who is goinge to the Kinges derbarre[1], will attend and certefie Your Honnor the damage sustayned by this detencion.' Secondly, they beg for compensation and justice for the attack on a previous caravan 'passinge betweene Mandarabarree and Sundelva, your famous sonne Shawnawaschans [*see* p. 60] province'. Further, they request that Thomas Sprage may be arrested and delivered to Mr. Biddulph, in order that he may be sent to Surat for trial, in accordance with the Prince's farmān. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT AGRA, APRIL 8, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 73).

Recommend a 'sheraffe' [*see* p. 8 *n.*] named 'Nattashawe' [Nathū Shāh], who has resided at Surat the last two or three years and has often done business with them. He is now removing to Agra in consequence of the King's departure from Gujarāt. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

THE SAME TO THE FACTORS AT AHMADĀBĀD, APRIL 10, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 73).

The rials they paid on the last bills from Agra, 'beeinge dispeeded towards Molies[2],' were stolen and some of the attendants killed. Four of the robbers were captured, and three have paid the penalty with their lives, 'spitted on so many stakes.' This loss, which is of upwards of 25,000 mahmūdīs, and the deferring of 'the Princes cazana[3], allso many dayes since intended to be delivered for exchange to Agra', 'makes the towne destitute eather of m[ahmūdīs] to exchange or good takers'; but they hope to make remittances shortly. They relate their troubles, for which they blame Roe.

[1] Court (Pers. *darbār*).

[2] Probably Mulher, near Jaitāpur, in Bāglān, is intended. Finch in 1610 speaks of 'Muliere, where the mamudees are coyned' (*Purchas*, vol. i. p. 424).

[3] Hind. *khazāna*, 'treasure.'

On sending Hutchinson to Baroda 'to sett afoote the makinge of broad baftas . . . prohibicion, by letters to that Governor, presently followed'; and on their commencing purchases in Nosārī and Broach, the authorities 'have given cutba [1] to the brokers of both places that they shall nether sell goods to us nor buy any for the English; the like they have allso done in Suratt; wherof requiringe the reason, they answered, as to His Lordship and as they formerly protested, that they will not give way to our trad in the Red Sea nor suffer us to buy any of the goods exported thether, and under culler of these indeavor our prevencion of all other and would lymitte us our broad baftaes, sayinge our last yeares provicion hindered theres and made them loade the Princes shippe with tobaccoe. These arguments wee indeavored by reason to confute, and the conclucion is wee shall be suffered to buy in Barroch our woonted commodities, but none for Red Sea, and in no other place mencioned.' Still, they will do their best to provide the quantities required for England and elsewhere. Another trouble has arisen from a claim made by Soares for china left with Nicholas Bangham, of which part was passed on to Sprage; the latter 'consumed' it, and has now conspired with others to make the Company responsible. A 'Pattan' has arrived from Burhānpur to require satisfaction from the Surat factors, 'makinge the custoomes of banians in that kind a presidente, pretendinge meere justice.' This they have absolutely refused. Meanwhile the Agra caravan has been detained at Chopra, 'some thirty course on this side Brampore,' by the orders of the Khānkhānān. Biddulph will endeavour to obtain its release, and the apprehension of Sprage, for whose employment, 'after knowledge of his loose life and profuse expence,' they blame the late ambassador. Commercial details. 'Cuttonees [*see* p. 10 *n.*] for quiltes' should not be sent, as they intend to employ the tailors to make some of white calico. Forward a list of Bantam commodities to be provided in Ahmadābād. Kerridge intends to proceed shortly to Broach and Baroda. 'The Dutch, having sould there fayre brasse ordinance [2], disperse there factors to invest the proceede in

[1] Pers. *kitāba*, 'a written order.'

[2] These were the guns which had been saved from the wreck of the *Middelburg*. They were sold to the native authorities, who mounted them on the walls of the castle; see Van Twist's *Generale Beschrijvinge van Indien*, 1648, p. 10.

expectacion of shippinge, whereof themselves now beginne to dispayre untill September.' Request 'an appraysure of your cattle[1], for that from hencforth wee intend to keepe a particular account of all the cattle in the severall factoryes'. Rules for numbering bales. (*Copy.* 3½ *pp.*)

GOODS TO BE PROVIDED FOR BANTAM (*Ibid., f.* 75).

In *Cambay*: 'Borrallies[2]', fine and coarse; 'tapseeles threed' and 'tapseele silke'; 'cadia of cotten'; 'mentassu'; 'bimee patcha suira'; 'ditto satuira'; 'beabadis pathasviza'; 'pangeeta, of four covides length and one covid eleven tessues[3] bredth'; 'pitcheree or [ne]wree grand'; 'allejayes cotten narrow'; 'pillgar chawder of sundry sortes'; 'mutfoone'; 'pattolas or tapchindie of cotten .... 3 covids in length and two covids four tessus in breadth'; 'pettolas silke'; 'sabony chawder'; 'newree little'; 'seeras' grand and little. Total (estimated), rupees 10,355. In *Ahmadābād*: 'Dutty'; 'cassadie nill'; 'badgeas'; 'gingam'; 'chintes'; 'selaus red.' Total (estimated), rupees 4,195. The purchase of 'byrams' should be deferred, as they are reported to be 'truer made and to bee had cheaper in Derngam[4]'. In *Agra*: 'Chowtars or semians, chokaree[5] 60,' rupees 600. In *Baroda*: 'Bucker' of two different lengths, mahmūdīs 740. In *Broach*: 'Baftaes narrow,' mahmūdīs 2,100. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO WILLIAM MARTIN AT BROACH, APRIL 11, 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 76.)

Would be glad to hear of the progress of his investments, which require the greater diligence as the factors are 'forbidden to buy English commodities eather in Suratt or Nunceree, and, as wee heare, the like prohibicion is allso gone out for Brodera'. Broach is spared them for the present. He must consequently buy all the baftas he can get. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

[1] Following native custom, the factors at Surat and elsewhere used oxen to draw their coaches.

[2] These names of piece-goods should be compared with those on p. 62, and with the list in *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., p. 705.

[3] Mahr. *tasū*, the twenty-fourth part of a covid.

[4] Dhārangāon, in Khāndesh district, thirty-five miles north-east of Dhūliā.

[5] A 'chokaree', 'chuckree,' or 'chockrie' (Hind. *chakar*, 'a roll') contained four pieces; see *Letters Received*, vol. iv. p. 239, vol. vi. p. 236.

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO WILLIAM BIDDULPH [AT BURHĀNPUR], APRIL 12, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 76).

Progress of the dispute with the Pathān, which has been referred to Burhānpur. They deny any knowledge of the china transaction; 'but the poynt wee must incist one and that you are to alleadge is that, both Swarez and wee beeinge Cristians, the difference must bee decyded accordinge to our own lawe, which never compells a master to satisfie sarvantes debtes, except procured by his order.' They hope he has succeeded in obtaining the release of the caravan; if necessary, a bribe may be proferred. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO ROBERT HUTCHINSON AT BARODA, APRIL 15, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 77).

They fear the effect of Is-hāq Beg's letter to the Governor of Baroda. He is therefore to address himself to the latter, and solicit permission to trade, pointing out the benefits likely to accrue to the inhabitants, and appealing to the King's grant of free trade in all his dominions. If the Governor will agree, they will 'acknowledge his curtesie some other way in his particular'; if not, they will provide elsewhere. Hutchinson should ask the principal dealers to join him in the petition. They also enclose a letter they have written to the Governor to second his request. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

GOODS TO BE PROVIDED FOR SUMATRA (*Ibid.*, *f.* 78).

In *Surat*: Cotton wool; 'seribaffes,' blue, white, and red, the last to be dyed at Burhānpur; steel of sundry sorts, viz. 'lickmapore' (Lakhimpur?), small, middle, and grand, 'henslaus,' and 'butt' [*see* p. 88]; Surat girdles or 'iekatt pingar[1]'; 'byrams whitte of Derngam [Dhārangāon]'; red ditto, to be dyed at Burhānpur. Total, mahmūdīs 10,997½. In *Broach*: 'Canekeens'; 'trycandees'; 'baftas' of various kinds; 'sealas'; and the following stuffs: 'necanee, capparia, hussaree, popillee, jarolee, chiram (grand and little), chokerian, chekar red.' Total, mahmūdīs 78,450. In *Ahmadābād and Cambay*: 'Sealas red'; 'mutfoone'; 'cheentes'; 'baftas red';

[1] Malay *ikat*, 'to bind,' and *pingang*, 'the waist.'

'tapichinde'; 'pattolas silke'; 'byrames blue.' Total, rupees 4,405. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO WILLIAM MARTIN [AT BROACH], APRIL 20, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 79).

He is to press forward the buying of narrow baftas, as their hopes of procuring supplies elsewhere are utterly extinguished. They fear trade at Baroda will not be granted, and it appears that orders have been given even at Broach 'to prevent us of the Red Sea commodities'. He is to purchase all he can get. 'For canekeenes and trycandees[1] you may allso begine to provide baftas and dutties fittinge into your house.' Kerridge hopes to be with him shortly. The cardamoms he bought have arrived, and they are troubled for room to stow them, 'beeinge dayly called uppon to deliver up our house [and] unprovided of any other.' (*Copy.* 1¾ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO ROBERT HUTCHINSON [AT BARODA], APRIL 21, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 80).

Perceive he has invested part of his cash, and urge him to distribute the rest speedily. If the Governor will resist the pressure put on him from Surat, they will gladly make a much larger investment than they had at first intended. 'Vaggee' [Hājī? *see* p. 87] the broker must be satisfied with one per cent. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, APRIL 25, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 81).

'Wee are not ignorant of the benifitt that place [Baroda] would yeald us, as well in the cheaper buyinge of our commodities as conveniency in there dispatch, if wee might bee suffered freely to trade, which now is beecome the question. Your Governors answere, though [it] seeme plausable, differeth not from the innate dissimulacion that is in all of them.' As a means of influencing him, they

[1] 'Canekeen' is said to be from the Mahrattī *khandakī* (Sanskrit *khaṇḍaka*, 'a piece or fragment') through the Port. *canequim*; and in 'trycandee' we may perhaps trace the Sanskrit and Mahrattī *trikānda*, meaning 'three sections'. From this passage and a letter to Persia given below (Oct. 29, 1619), it appears that the former was made from *bāftas* and the latter from *dhotīs*, and that their names were due to 'theire shortnes and dying' respectively.

now send 'a firman of the Kinges, permittinge our free trade in all his dominions, obtayned by Mr. Biddulph, as effectuall in our oppinions as that procured by Sir Thomas Roe'. They would have sent the latter, as being of more recent date, but it has been dispatched to Burhānpur to help in clearing the Agra caravan. A bottle of strong waters forwarded as a present to 'Casalba Chan' [the Governor]. They await the promised musters. (*Copy*. 1 *p*.)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, APRIL 29, 1619 (*Ibid*., *f*. 81).

They have received his letter, but at present have nothing to add to theirs of the 25th. (*Copy*. ½ *p*.)

THE SAME TO WILLIAM MARTIN [AT BROACH], APRIL 29, 1619 (*Ibid*., *f*. 82).

He is right to be careful in his buying, but must avoid delay, as other purchasers 'will dayly assuredly increase, both from hence and Dabull, as they have yearly done towards the approch of the raynes'. He has underestimated the quantity of narrow baftas required, including 'coorse sortes to make canekeenes'. By earnest suit they have obtained permission to employ 6,000 mahmūdīs 'which was in Nunsery and partly invested before the prohibicion'. With these and what they can purchase secretly they hope to get 2,000 pieces; the rest Broach must yield. Kerridge's journey is still delayed. No news yet of the release of the Agra caravan. 'Certayne Portingall frigates hath been twice within this month att the shore [att] Swally, sounded the roade, shoules and channells, publishinge and makinge shew of resolucion to attempt our fleete the next yeare; confirmed allso by writtinge from Goa.' (*Copy*. 1½ *pp*.)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO JOHN BANGHAM [AT BURHĀNPUR], MAY 3, 1619 (*Ibid*., *f*. 82).

Certify that the bearers ('these Balloches') yesterday delivered to him the prisoner, Thomas Sprage. They have been given two mahmūdīs 'enaume[1]'. (*Copy*. ½ *p*.)

[1] Arabic *inâm*, 'a gift.' The word is used in Western India as equivalent to *bakhshish* (see *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., p. 433).

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO JOHN BANGHAM [AT BURHĀNPUR], MAY 4, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 83).

From Biddulph's letter of April 22 they have learned the proceedings 'beefore the Nabab[1] and his unjust sentence for the goods detencion in Chupra or carryinge backe to Brampore'. As the rains are approaching, they think it would be best to house the goods at the former place, and for that purpose have procured 'Isakes Beages letter to Merrja Abdal [Mīrzā Abdullah], Governor of Chupra'. If necessary, 'you must erze[2] to the Nabobe that it may bee kepte from spoyle.' He may retain half a score 'Balloches' or others to guard the goods. The Nawāb's order is only for the detention of so much as will amount to 20,000 rupees, but they think it advisable to keep all together. Thomas Sprage has arrived at Surat. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO FRANCISCO SOARES [AT BĪJĀPUR], MAY 4, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 83).

Complains of the action of Soares in the matter of the detained caravan and begs him to desist; should he refuse, other measures will be tried. (*Copy. Portuguese.* 3½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT AGRA, MAY 6, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 85).

The caravan with sugar, &c., for Persia arrived in safety on May 2, having been but six weeks on the way, the speediest passage yet experienced. They have given the 'Balloches' five mahmūdīs 'enaume', and five more to the two 'merdees[3]'. The tents and fardle-cords have been received, 'but the powra[4] appeares not.' (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO ROBERT HUTCHINSON [AT BARODA], MAY 11, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 86).

As the farmān formerly sent wrought no effect, 'the Kinges last firmane given Sir Thomas Roe att his leave takinge' is now

[1] The Khānkhānān.

[2] Submit a petition (Hind. *arzī*).

[3] Hind. *mīrdaha*, 'a chief of ten;' here probably the leaders of the small escort of Balūchīs.

[4] Possibly Hind. *pāra*, 'a strap.'

forwarded. If the Governor should still refuse permission to trade, Hutchinson is to solicit leave to invest merely the small sum he took with him. Should this be granted, he is to make the investment as soon as possible, and then repair to Broach. If the Governor denies all concession, he must leave his money with one of the 'securest brokers, that underhand may provide the goods you appoynt and send them securely to Barroch'. The musters are very satisfactory. He is to return the farmāns to Broach speedily. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO WILLIAM MARTIN [AT BROACH], MAY 12 AND 13, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 86).

Would be glad to hear of quicker progress in his investments. His advances to the brokers should not be on too liberal a scale; 'it is likely they imploy our monyes to other uses or make profitt by interest.' Fear the Baroda attempt will be a failure. Bills for 8,000 mahmūdīs sent. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

THE SAME TO ROBERT HUTCHINSON [AT BARODA], MAY 14, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 87).

On further consideration they send a certified copy and not the original farmān. If he cannot obtain permission to invest his money himself, he is to deliver it 'with all privitie unto two Bannyans, brokers of that towne, called [J]angee Madoytee [Jānojī Mādhojī?] and Ramlecba [Rāmrikhbhāī?], who are parteners and respondentes of Tapydas [Tapī Dās], a cheefe broker of thatt place, who is now heare', and has written to those merchants accordingly. He is then to 'repayre home' as quickly as possible. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

THE SAME TO THE FACTORS AT BROACH, MAY 14, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 87).

Have sent 2,100 mahmūdīs by the bearers, 'in three bagges made fast about there midles.' (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT BROACH, MAY 21, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 88).

Forward 2,800 mahmūdīs by the bearers. 'Your latter letter importinge the sendinge of our surgean [to?] your Governor was seconded by one from himselfe to the [same] effecte; whom wee may very well spare for the sm[all] use wee have of him in respecte of ourselves, but a dangerous cure, which (unknowne to us) he undertook uppon a poore man that hath an impostume, will [require] his speedy returne, or indanger the mans life; which [wee] pray you signifie unto the Governor. Wee pray you further to have an especiall care [to] keepe him sober, that wee be not through him genera[lly] skandalised by these infidells; which, except you looke [very] narrowly to him (if any stronge drinke be stirringe), you will hardly performe.' *P.S.*—To-morrow they will send a case of Alicante to the Governor, and some gunny for the factory. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, MAY 22, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 88).

They forward 19¾ corge of gunny, which cost with carriage 349½ mahmūdīs. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL TO GILES JAMES, PROCEEDING TO BURHĀNPUR, MAY 23, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 88).

In passing through Chopra, he is to see whether the goods there are properly housed. At Burhānpur he may either address the Nawāb direct or through one of his best esteemed servants, using for such purpose the presents supplied to him. If he succeeds in obtaining the release of the goods, he should get a formal certificate of the judgement, and also advise Mr. Biddulph, in order that he may get a confirmation from the King or Prince, as a security against future claims. If justice be refused, Biddulph must agitate the matter at court. Goods to be procured at Burhānpur and Dhārangāon. He is also to inquire about some broad white linen cloth from Golconda, made in the fashion of sheets, called '[ ]etan', 4½ covids by 2½; also 'a kinde of stufe called

tessa[ ]'. Both these are likely to be suitable for England. *Enclosure.*—Goods to be provided in Burhānpur and Dhārangāon, (1) For Persia: sal-ammoniac and 'chintes'. (2) For Bantam: 'byrames,' white and red. (3) For Sumatra: 'serebaffes,' white and red, and 'byrames' of the same colours. (4) For Mokha: 'byrames,' white, and 'serebaffes', white. (5) For England: 'byrames,' white and red. Also to inquire as to gum-lac, pepper, copper, and dry ginger. (*Copy.* 3 *pp.*)

Thomas Kerridge and Thomas Rastell at Surat to the Factors at Broach, May 26, 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 91).

They are sorry to hear of the impediments put in the way of their business. Forward a bill of exchange which they have taken at the request of the late Governor, 'Jamallca[n]' [Jamāl Khān]. As to the payment of other bills. They would do well to cease buying narrow baftas for a time, or else beat down the price, to force the weavers to supply the broad baftas wanted. If the surgeon is not needed, he should be sent back. He was only dispatched at the Governor's urgent request; 'but they would seeme to slight him to make his reward the lesse.' 'Wee tryed all the meanes wee could to have procured commodities from Brodera, which since itt prevayleth not, it must be parcell of our sufferance, which with many other abuses heare makes our greefe compleate.' (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

The Same to the Factors at Ahmadābād, May 29, 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 91).

Their letters received. As to the supply of indigo. Bills will shortly be sent to provide funds for further investments. They complain of the abuses under which they suffer, but can see no immediate remedy. Mr. Biddulph had conference with the Khānkhānān about the detained indigo, but was unable to effect its release, as certain Armenians testified that 'the custome of Turkee ingageth the consull or cheife to answer the defectes of all other men of there nacion'. The claim is for 20,000 rupees. They allowed Biddulph to offer 2,000 to compound the matter; but this is useless, as they hear that 'the Nabobe and his cheife sarvantes

are to have ten thousand for there sentence'. They are resolved not to pay the sum demanded, as the parties interested will not be able to refund a tenth of the amount. Giles James has now gone to Burhānpur to see what he can do. In the second place, they are absolutely prevented from buying goods for the Red Sea. Thirdly, they are prohibited trade at Nosārī; 'Robert Hutchenson returned from Brodera without doinge any thinge; and heare wee can gett nothinge openly of any commodity. Wee have tryed all our firmanes, importuned by entreaty, sould them our goods underhand att there own price, threatned to seeke redresse by other meanes; yett all will not serve, and Isake Beage sayth he is our freind and useth us very gently in that wee are suffred to buy att Barroch.' Fourthly, there is the trouble over their dwelling-house. 'They will not suffer us to have this or any other fitt. The late Governors remove made him proffer us one that was paund to his brother for butt 2,500 m[ahmūdīs], and wee should have given 2,000; whereto havinge consented, and bribed the Governor with the vallewe of 230 m[ahmūdīs], this divelish Castle Captain disbursed the mony and prevented us, sayinge wee should bee to neare him; and so the house lyes voyde for any elce to live in gratis. In lewe whereof they have appoynted us three others a greate distance each from other, but such as [have] neather convenyente lodginge nor warehouse roome for any goods; which, with our stable and three others for goods, makes in nomber seven.' Fifthly, there are the wrongs suffered in the custom-house—the detention of their lead to force its sale to the Customer at a low price; the redelivery of a quantity of ivory in bad condition owing to exposure to sun and wind; the appropriation of various goods, to be paid for at pleasure and at their own prices. All these things considered, they ask the opinion of the Ahmadābād factors as to the advisability of seizing the Surat junk to enforce redress, without waiting for the Company's orders. Sprage was delivered to Mr. Biddulph, and is now at Surat. He acknowledges that Nicholas Bangham received thirteen chests of china, 'which were all consumed amongst them.' He has no means of paying anything. The goods for Persia are to be sent down after the rains. Details of accounts. If 'gingames' are not procurable at Ahmadābād, they will get a supply from Broach. They put down

'pettolas' in the Cambay list because they thought that 'the cullers best requested will soonest bee procured bespoken'. They are aware that ready-made ones, 'that come from Pattimee[1],' may be purchased at either Cambay or Ahmadābād. They have set down the cattle of the latter factory at 147 rupees 40. As to the marking of bales. They have received offers for their bullion, but have not yet decided. The exchange at present is 41½ rupees per hundred mahmūdīs. Mr. Freeman died May 15.[2] (*Copy.* 5 *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO FRANCIS FETTIPLACE, &C., AT AGRA, JUNE 6, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 93).

Biddulph will have told them of the detention of the caravan and the measures taken to secure its release. 'Wee have procured the Dutches certificate, testified by the Casee and cheefes, conserninge the customes of Cristendome, in contradicion of what was there alleadged by the Armeanians, and have allso written unto Swarez att Vizeapore' [*see* p. 97]. If these means fail, they must rely on Biddulph's efforts at court. John Bangham is still at Burhānpur. The sugar caravan has arrived in safety. 'The transporte of goods without Eng[lishmen] wee see is [both] more speedy and lesse chargeable, and doubtlesse, [if those] intrested bee honest, more secure, the cuntry every[where] incrochinge one strangers, who at times, knoweinge [not] when to give nor where to restrayne, run into need[less] dangers, as the former yeares cafila[3], by standinge out for a petty dutye to a chowkee[4] (if the Balloches informacion be true), came to that prejudice.' They find little or no saving in price by bringing sugar from Agra, it being usually procurable at Surat for eight or nine mahmūdīs per maund of 18 pice. As, however, they cannot rely on the local market for a quantity sufficient for their needs, they request that an endeavour be made to contract for 1,000 maunds of sugar and 200 of sugar candy yearly, to be delivered at Surat instead of Agra, 'such commodities beeinge usually transported on oxen and not on camells.' Accounts and debts. Supply of indigo, 'semians,' 'ambertees,' 'chintes,'

[1] Probably Pātan, on the Saraswatī, in Baroda territory.

[2] Robert Freeman was appointed a factor in Oct., 1617, and went out in Bonner's fleet. Roe selected him for employment at Agra, but he did not live to take up the post.

[3] See p. 31 *n*.

[4] A customs or toll-station (Hind. *chaukī*).

'Bengala quiltes' and 'chowtars'. John Willoughby to be third at Agra, and John Parker fourth. (*Copy.* 4 *pp.*)

THE SAME TO WILLIAM BIDDULPH AT AGRA, JUNE 6, 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 95).

Have received his account of his proceedings at Burhānpur and the Nawāb's 'unjust sentence for satisfacion of the chyna, together with your opynion in stoppinge there juncke for itts releace', or Kerridge's repair thither to compound matters. The goods have since been taken to Burhānpur, and placed in the common 'sera[1]' to await the further orders of the Nawāb, who has given the factors one or two months to procure rebutting evidence from Surat. 'Wee procured these cheefes to require of the Dutch as well the custome of English and of all other Cristians in this particuler; which, after sundry delayes uppon consideracion or distrust of ther owne damage, they effected, wherto the Dutches answere was liberally in expression of the truth; which by the Cazee and the said cheifes were signed, and the same (Mr. Rastells accounts not finished) sente by Mr. James to Brampore, together with our second peticion to the Nabobe, expressinge these wronges.' If this fails to secure justice they must consider composition; but they fear the latter course will be expensive and difficult to justify to the Company. They place their hopes rather in Biddulph's efforts at court to remedy that and other abuses. Details of the latter. 'Lastly, you shall perceave wee are now expulsed our house and setled in three others of lesse magnitude, whereof on is that Richard Steelle had, and thother two so neare adjoyninge as by high rentes wee could procure, and our families ar devided into them; besides which wee have allso two or three warehouses, and had the Agra or Amadavas goods come downe, must have had twice as many more. Wee were promised one that, though in some places ruinated, would have served us all, and gave our quondam Governor a bribe in hope thereof; but the Captain of the Castell opposed itt as too neare him.' They are unwilling to hazard the trade of India by strong measures, but desire the opinions of the Agra factors on the point. They have released Sprage in consideration of his good behaviour. Death of Freeman. (*Copy.* 4½ *pp.*)

[1] Caravanserai (Pers. *karwānsarāī*).

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT BROACH, JUNE 8, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 97).

Toll levied on the gunny sent. Urge them to buy plenty of narrow baftas. Payment of a bill of exchange. They are sorry the surgeon was sent for on a bootless errand. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, JUNE 13, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 98).

As to payment of a bill of exchange. They deprecate making large advances to brokers. The better course is to deal direct, 'by callinge the workmen home to our house.' Kerridge will come as soon as he can get away, but they must push on with the purchase of baftas. Have sent six servants with 3,000 mahmūdīs. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO GILES JAMES AT BURHĀNPUR, JUNE 18, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 99).

They are sorry to hear of the Khānkhānān's refusal to receive him, on the pretext that the petition was not properly made up, 'when indeed it is much more submission in deliveringe itt open, accustomed heare to the Kinge . . . butt any thinge may serve where is intencion to wronge.' 'From Swarez wee have this instante receaved answere of [that] sente him, wherein he refirreth himselfe to the justice att [Burhānpur?], makinge a large apoligie in excuse, but offereth no con[ditions?] of agreement other then the informacion of the vallew, already given; so there is no expectance of ought from him butt the worst his mischevous harte can devise.' If no remedy can be obtained there, reliance must be placed on Biddulph's efforts at court. Remittance of money. Provision of cloth at Dhārangāon. One of the 'guetunes[1]' should have been sent 'to confirme us in the commodity'. A hundred maunds of gum-lac to be bought for Persia. They send bills for 2,081¼ rupees (5,000 mahmūdīs at 41¼ and 41⅝ rupees per hundred mahmūdīs), 'payable at four duble dayes as per custome.' (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

[1] This is probably the same as Van Twist's 'goutom', which he describes as a silk cloth with coloured stripes (*Generale Beschrijvinge van Indien*, p. 63).

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT AHMADĀBĀD, JUNE 20, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 100).

Advise bills of exchange for 13,549¾ rupees, representing 32,650 mahmūdīs. They have moved to a new dwelling since they last wrote. 'The distance twixt it and our former dwellinge house stopes the clamore of our malignares, or at least [us] from the hearinge of itt.' James cannot get audience of the Khānkhānān, who refers him to 'the Divan, Cazee, &c.' A muster of 'gingames' received from Cambay. (*Copy*. 1 *p*.)

THOMAS RASTELL AND ROBERT HUTCHINSON AT SURAT TO THOMAS KERRIDGE, &C., AT BROACH, JUNE 29, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 100).

Remittance of money, warehousing of lead, and other details. (*Copy*. 1 *p*.)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT BROACH TO THE FACTORS AT SURAT, JULY 1, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 104).

Requests dispatch of some hides and other goods required by the Governor of Broach. 'Wee are so overcharged heare with presentes of victu[als], this cuntryes only curtesie, both from the Governor and his br[other], that wee knowe no better meanes of requitall then lyquor, the custome of ours;' requests therefore some wine and strong waters. The hides must be packed in cere-cloth. He would be glad to hear 'conserninge the lycence promised for investments [in] Nunceree, and what hope of Brodera', for goods at Broach are scarce and dear. If the rains prevent the dispatch of the hides, &c., the liquor should be sent 'by caharres[1] or masoores[2] expresse'. (*Copy*. 1 *p*.)

[1] Hind. *kahār*, the name of a caste generally employed to carry palankins and articles of a particularly breakable nature. Cf. Peter Mundy's account of them (Brit. Mus. *Harl. MS.* 2286), written about ten years later than the text:—'A Cahare is a fellowe that on a peece of bamboo or greate cane which lyes on his shoulder will carrie at either end thereof half a quintall, with which hee will travell 25 or 30 mile a daie, for hee goes a kinde of an easie leapinge pace, or as it were gentlie runninge, the bamboo yeildinge and bendinge at everie stepp, soe that theie carrie more steddie then any other kinde of invention that I knowe. Theie are most commonlie imployed for carryinge of chinae, christall or anie curious brittle ware; alsoe of meate and drinke or anie liquid thinge. Anie greate man, when hee travells, hath manie of these Cahares alonge with him for the purposes aforesaid.'

[2] Hind. *masūr*, a corruption of *masdūr*, 'a carrier or porter.'

THE SAME TO THE SAME, JULY 5, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 104).

Has received the bills of exchange. Advises the raising of the price of lead. As their present residence has 'lymitte of only four monthes', he thinks a special warehouse should be hired for the lead—'some stronge walled house in the bazar neare the custome house.' Amber should be sold. Regarding the scarf appropriated by the Customer. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO THOMAS KERRIDGE, &C., AT BROACH, JULY 5, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 101).

Advises a further remittance. They have sold five bags of rials at 5 mahmūdīs ⅝ pice per rial. By a couple of 'masores' and a 'cahare' they send the Alicante and other things wanted for the Governor. The hides are 'covered over with a mumjama[1] to defend them from wettinge'. 'By a torye[2] of Ragapore[3] (there lately arrived) is newes brought of the Princes shipp and our *Lyons* safe arrivall before Mocha, where by reason of none other as yett there arrived, and few this yeare expected, all sortes of goods ar said to bee in great request.' (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

THOMAS RASTELL AND ROBERT HUTCHINSON AT SURAT TO THOMAS KERRIDGE, &C., AT BROACH, JULY 10, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 101).

They are glad that Biddulph has obtained a farmān from the Prince, but fear the intentions of the Khānkhānān are 'unjust and partiall'. The Customer has made an offer for the whole of their lead, but Rastell thinks it should not be accepted, as this 'monopalisinge unto himself the sole advantage and benifitte of [our?] staplest commoditie' may constitute an awkward precedent. Negotiations for the sale of amber. Relaxation of the restrictions at Nosārī; but the Governor 'will not heare of Brodera'. Sale of three bags of rials at 5 mahmūdīs 2 pice. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

[1] Hind. *momjāma*, 'wax-cloth.' [2] Hind. *tarī*, 'a boat.'
[3] Rājāpur, in Ratnāgiri district.

THOMAS KERRIDGE, WILLIAM MARTIN, AND RICHARD BARBER AT BROACH TO THE FACTORS AT SURAT, JULY 12, 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 105).

The bills of exchange have been duly received; they request 8,000 or 10,000 mahmūdīs more. The Governor now affects indifference regarding the hides, &c.; possibly 'he expectes them pisquesh[1]'. Regarding the further detention of the Agra caravan by the officials 'slightinge the Prince his nashan[2]', they find 'the firmand nivis[3] had full information of the cause, and wrote effectually to itts clearinge, yett with reserved honor and tearmes of love to the Nabob, which increaseth admiracion itt wrought no other effecte'. The brokers at Baroda are afraid to invest the money entrusted to them; send therefore an 'earzedash[4]' to the Governor of Surat to remove the prohibition. They must not give way to the Customer's purchasing their lead; 'if wee should now yeald, wee justly deserve like dealinge in the future.' His appropriation of a scarf without payment must also be resisted. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL TO GILES JAMES AT BURHĀNPUR, JULY 14, 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 106).[5]

They are sorry to hear that the caravan is still detained. 'Att the Nabobes so slender regard, after the perusall of the Prince his order, wee very much marvayle.' If a second application has failed, James should advise Mr. Biddulph in order that a farmān may be obtained from the King. Provision of goods at Burhānpur and Dhārangāon. A remittance of 5,000 mahmūdīs advised. 'Chintes for hanginges' to be bought for England. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT BROACH TO WILLIAM BIDDULPH, FRANCIS FETTIPLACE, &C., AT AGRA, JULY 14, 1619 (*Ibid., ff.* 107, 108).

Mr. James has advised the receipt of the Prince's nishān, and 'the Nabobes slender performance and neglect of the contentes'.

[1] A present to a superior (Pers. *pīshkash*).
[2] Hind. *nishān*, 'a signet or emblem;' hence 'a signed order', &c.
[3] Hind. *farmān-navīs*, an official whose duty it was to draw up farmāns and similar documents.
[4] Hind. *arz-dāsht*, a written petition or memorial.
[5] Sent open to Surat, where Rastell added his signature and dispatched the letter to James.

It is to be feared that, 'in regard of Swarez his neare aquayntance, beeinge factor, as wee are informed, for some of Chachanas cheife ministers,' the matter is purposely protracted to give Soares time to apply to the Prince for the revocation of the order. Biddulph must put the case before 'Afsull Chan[1] and Afsull Chan [*see* p. 36 *n*.], the Kinge and Princes cheife agentes', pointing out the loss caused by the detention of the caravan, and soliciting its release, the English 'havinge in so many partes of this kingdom sufficiente meanes to satisfie whatsoever justise, after hearinge the case, shall determine in his behalfe'. If necessary, he should appeal to the King or Prince to decide the case, 'Chan Chana havinge already declared himselfe a parsiall judge in the cause.' Commend their other grievances to his intercession; and would be glad to learn his opinion as to the advisability of stopping the Prince's ship to force satisfaction. 'What you did att Surainge[2] wee perceave, and the reason you disliked from providinge the quantety of chyntes injoyned by Sir Thomas Roe; those of Agra beeinge lesse fine and more stronge will not, wee knowe, bee misliked for hanginges in England, and therefore desire you will at least provide some few sortes for tryall.' 'Taylors in Suratt are not plentifull enough to worke what wee would sett them too,' and time will not permit the making of any 'chintes' into quilts; so they must be sent to England unmade. Urge the early dispatch of goods. 'If the two princes[3] difference might bee to our advantage and the remove of our lord, wee should not be sorry to heare itt; butt the Kinges progress to Cashmeare will bee many wayes prejudiciall unto our businesse, which some occacion beafore the time of his departure wee hope may alter.' (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, WILLIAM MARTIN, AND RICHARD BARBER AT BROACH TO THE FACTORS AT SURAT, JULY 15, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 108).

Send letters for Agra and Burhānpur; also one from Ahmadābād. The arrival of 'certayne Dabullers from Cambaya invest[ing for

[1] A slip for 'Āsaf Khān'.
[2] Sironj, in Tonk State, Rājpūtāna, on the Burhānpur-Agra road.
[3] Khurram and (perhaps) Parwīz.

south]wards' has decreased the stock of cloth available. They have recovered 300 mahmūdīs on account of a short supply of 'canekeens' last year. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT BROACH TO THE FACTORS AT AHMADĀBĀD, JULY [15?], 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 108).

Their letters received, but nothing can be decided about stopping the junk until the result of the Prince's order to the Khānkhānān to release the caravan is known. Provision of indigo and calicoes. (*Copy.* 1¾ *pp.*)

THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO THOMAS KERRIDGE, &C. [AT BROACH], JULY 16, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 102).

Sends three bills of exchange. 'The newes from Red Sea is confirmed by many letters thence to merchantes of this towne, whose shippe, as that likewise of Goga, beeinge both ordayned for Judda (where allso as yett beare better prices), other two shippes from Dew havinge allso lost there monsoone, are reasons sufficiente for improvement of this cuntry comodities in Mocha, whereof by name course narrowe baftaes worth 35 per corge, canekins att 14, and tobako at r[ial]s 4 per mand of 32 sear[s] this weight.' They are not hopeful of the early release of the Agra goods. 'Your eardash [*see* p. 107] to Isacke Beage was delivered, and seconded by mee with very earnest importunitie for the Brodera lycence desired, but no condicions or perswasive reasons will move him. I urged it was but a smalle some and could little prejudice them or benefit us the investinge. He replyes with resolute deniall; he neather durst nor would be the broacher of a new custome, heareby to incure the generall exclamacions of all the people, and therefore wisht us contente ourselves with our woonted lymitts, as beeinge a sufficient encroach allready to there generall damage; but concluded that what other curtesies his place or service might steed us, he would bee very ready with his aide in our assistance.' Troubles with the Customer. Negotiations for sale of amber. They are glad to hear his investment is well in hand. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO [THE FACTORS AT BROACH], JULY [23], 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 108).

Send by the bearers a quantity of mahmūdīs 'made upp in wascotes of duttie, which they weare underneath there clothes for more ease and safetie, accordinge to the manner used by the sheraffes in like transportacions'. They would be glad to learn whether there is any chance of procuring baftas from Baroda. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

GEORGE BALL AT MASULIPATAM TO THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT, JULY 23[1], 1619 (*O. C.* 805).

'Since the sealing of the inclosed, dated in Narapela[2], here arived the shipp *Pepercorne*, one of Sir Thomas Dales fleet, forced by exstremity of weather from the rest of her company, riding at Ingana[3] in quest of what was lost in the *Sune*; whoe, in her course coming hether, not farr from the said islande mett with a Hollands advizer called the *Orania Bome* [*Oranje-boom*] or *Orangetree*, skypper or master Cornelis Harte, whoe delivered the master a letter frome the Cape of Good Hope written by Thomas Barwick[4], the coppie whereof I herewith sende you. He tolde him likewise of the death of our queen and Sir Walter Rawlie[5], and the overthrow of his project; that the two Companys of Holland and England were united and that he had letters for [each of the] Presedents. This shipp of the Flemings cam a month or six weekes out after ours, and therfore the newes may be true, albeit I can give noe creditt therunto. He tells him further that there is

[1] This date has been wrongly read as July 13 in the *Cal. of State Papers: E. Indies*, 1617–21.

[2] Nīlapallī, on the Coringa branch of the Godāvarī. Pring's fleet from Bantam had been driven by contrary winds to the north-east of Masulipatam and had been forced to anchor in the Bay of Coringa. Ball went in the ship's boat up the creek to Nīlapallī, and thence dispatched letters to Masulipatam. Methwold at once hastened to the fleet and arranged for a supply of provisions for their use. He and Ball then proceeded to Masulipatam, arriving July 19. Pring's ships did not reach that place till Sept. 7.

[3] Engano, an island off the south-west coast of Sumatra, about 125 miles from the Straits of Sunda. The *Sun*, of Sir Thomas Dale's fleet, was wrecked there on Nov. 16, 1618.

[4] Master of the *Bear*. See *The Embassy* (p. 519) for his meeting with Roe at the Cape, and the letter sent by the ambassador to Jourdain in consequence of Barwick's information that the two Companies were on the point of reconciliation.

[5] Queen Anne died March 2, 1619. Ralegh was executed Oct. 29, 1618.

eight shipps more to followe out of Englande and as many out of Hollande. Yf you have newes of the certentie herof per these shipps that shall touch ther I pray particepat thereof by exspresse unto this factory, that we may the better knowe howe to rule our selves in the affaires of the Company. For other newes Mr. Methwolds letter may serve.' (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT BROACH, AUGUST 5, 1619 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2122, *f.* 108).

Send bills of exchange for 4,000 mahmūdīs. They must meet the competition of the Dābhol buyers by increasing their rates, as it is important to secure as many baftas, &c., as possible. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO WILLIAM BIDDULPH AT AGRA, AUGUST 9 AND 10, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 111).

Are still waiting for the release of the caravan. Yesterday they induced Is-hāq Beg to write to the Khānkhānān on the subject, 'butt wheather cordiall, out of intent to do us good, or craftely to secure himselfe from trouble att there junckes returne, wee are not certayne, though conceave the latter.' Giles James has been directed to return by the middle of next month to take charge of the accounts, as Kerridge is to return to [England], Browne to succeed him, and Rastell to take Browne's place at Ahmadābād. They hope that if by that time the caravan is not released, Biddulph will be at Burhānpur to look after matters. There is a great stir made about 'the horse picture presented to the Kinge without the Prince his knowledge, who, inraged that he receaved no notice thereof in the roll from henc, chabacktt [*see* p. 48 *n.*] the haddee[1] (and sente in hope of favour) that went upp with the

[1] For an interesting note on the *Ahadīs* see the new edition of *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 408. They were a class of 'gentlemen-troopers' in attendance on the sovereign or (as in this case) his sons, and were largely used as messengers or for special missions. Hawkins estimates their number at 5,000; to which Purchas adds that 'M[r. W.] Clarke (which divers yeeres served the Mogol in his warres and was one of these haddies) saith 30,000' (*Pilgrimage*, p. 521).

goods in your company', and 'by expres farmane comanded the like as well to the Governor, Jumull Chan, as Isake Beag and the Costomer, or, dislikinge the whipe, ar injoyned each 1,000 rup[ees] penaltie'. They have laid the blame on the English, and threaten rigorous search to prevent such smuggling in future. This will damage business more than the sale or gift of twenty such pictures can be of benefit. *P.S.*—He is to procure, if possible, some 'jasames [*see* p. 51 *n.*] of partye coloured clothe' for England. 'There is allso a kind of Bengala stuff of silke [or] grasse called tessar[1], and some allso of cotton [and the] said grass, usually contayning 13½ and 14 covids in length and 1½ in breadth, which last is commonly bought in Brampore for rup[ees] 4 the peece.' He should purchase some for England, if procurable. (*Copy.* 2¼ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO GILES JAMES AT BURHĀNPUR, AUGUST 10, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 112).

Express satisfaction with his investments. They agree with him that the 'quetion' [*see* p. 104 *n.*] of which he forwarded a pattern will not do for England, 'yett for further satisfacion to our masters, who thinke they have formerly beene neglected in ther returne,' they would gladly have sent home samples. They inquire also for 'tessars', of which Nicholas Bangham took home some on his own account; and for 'isames or jasames carpetts', a consignment of which, bought in Burhānpur, was dispatched to England lately. They fear the Prince's order for the release of the goods was 'only a usuall court complement to abuse necessiteous sutors whilst his expectacions may be satisfied in other desired trifles, for by such Sir Thomas Roe was held in servitude a longe time, as all strangers are'. If no relief comes by the beginning of next month, he is to leave everything in the care of John Bangham and return to Surat to take charge of the accounts. Supply of sugar candy. They enclose a letter from Is-hāq Beg to Afzal Khān, to be forwarded to Biddulph. (*Copy.* 3¼ *pp.*)

[1] There seems to be here a confusion between *tasar* silk and the grass-cloth (*herba*) of Bengal.

THE SAME TO THE FACTORS AT BROACH, AUGUST 14, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 114).

Forward some goods asked for by the Governor of Broach. Complaint should be made of tolls exacted on cloth brought from 'Oncleseare[1]' to Broach 'only to bee whited'. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

THE SAME TO THE FACTORS AT AHMADĀBĀD, AUGUST 16, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 114).

Discuss the advisability of detaining the Prince's junk on her return from the Red Sea, which is shortly expected. They are themselves in favour of this course, as otherwise there is no prospect of their grievances being redressed. The opportunity is a good one, as the Surat merchants have, 'besides there greate shippe abroade, whome they intend agayne for Judda, the *Gunjawer*[2] preparinge to send for Mocha, and a new small shipp a building, pretended for Shahir (?)[3], and other of like burden nowe att Meselpatan, bound for Moca with pepper.' They advise a further remittance, 'wherein wee have observed your request of rup[ees] secaus coorah[4].' Supply of indigo, calicoes, and sal-ammoniac. (*Copy.* 6 *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE FACTORS AT BROACH, AUGUST 17, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 118).

They should take any stuffs they can get from Baroda, 'in some measure to ease the burden of Barroch.' Request the return of their broker. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO WILLIAM MARTIN AT BROACH, AUGUST 18, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 117).

They have sent some morses' teeth, as desired, for the Governor's brother, but cannot furnish him with scarlet cloth, as there is none remaining. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

[1] Ankleswar, six miles south of Broach. They are on opposite sides of the Narbadā, and the tolls were doubtless exacted, as usual, on crossing the river.

[2] *Ganj-āwar*, 'Treasure-bearer.' [3] Shehr, a port on the south-west coast of Arabia.

[4] Newly-coined (from *korā*, 'fresh,' and *sikka*, 'a coining die'). New coins passed at a higher rate than old ones.

THOMAS KERRIDGE TO IS-HĀQ BEG, GOVERNOR OF SURAT, AUGUST [20?], 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 118).

The expectation of the speedy arrival of the English fleet obliges them to remind him that the commands of the King and Prince for the provision of a suitable dwelling for them have not been obeyed, 'our goods and persones scarsly contayned in eight or nine severall howses, which beefore were in one.' (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT BROACH, AUGUST 20, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 119).

They send bills for 6,000 mahmūdīs, and will forward 2,000 more in ready money to-morrow. (*Copy.* ¼ *p.*)

THE SAME TO THE FACTORS AT AHMADĀBĀD, AUGUST [21], 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 117).

Promise an early remittance. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

THE SAME TO THE FACTORS AT BROACH, AUGUST 23, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 119).

Forward a supply of cash. They must not relax their efforts to obtain a full supply of calicoes. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO GILES JAMES [AT BURHĀNPUR], AUGUST 25, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 120).

Purchase of commodities. They have not sent any money, being themselves out of cash and about 25,000 mahmūdīs in debt; but they forward letters of credit 'from Virgevora [to] his sarvant Callian Shagger' [Kalyān Shāgird] to supply his wants. Pepper, ginger, and copper to be bought for Persia. He is to defer his departure as long as possible, in hope of the release of the caravan. Patterns of calico sent. (*Copy.* 3 *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO [AUGUSTINE SPALDING, GEORGE BALL, &C., AT MASULIPATAM?], AUGUST 26, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 121).

Have received their letters of July 20 and 23 [*see* p. 110], and have learnt with regret the troubles with the Dutch and the loss of the *Sun*. They note the advice not to provide any great quantity

of goods for the southwards this year, but the warning has come too late. If, however, Sir Thomas Dale and his council order the expected fleet to be sent on immediately to meet him at Priaman in October, as proposed, there will be no time for them to lade any goods. They doubt whether the Company will relish this disappointment. As to the supplies for the fleet. 'Our corrivals heare[1], expectinge supply, have invested in clothinge for sowards, indico of both sortes, and some musters callicoes for there cuntrye all there cavidall[2], which if any come to fetch wee shall indeavore to effecte your ad[moni]cion in their seasure, though should far more rejoyce to be asertayned of some f[inal]le reconsiliacion and agreement att home to end these differences.' They doubt, however, the rumours as to the latter. The story of Queen Anne's death 'by the queenes infirmities is not unlike; if true [the King? hath] lost a gracious and good lady'. Sir Walter Ralegh's end will 'finish his trouble, whose projecte was meerely contrived for his lyberty'. They relate their own troubles, which 'caused consideracion and allmost resolucion att returne of there juncke to expostulate these wronges by hir detencion att barr, which though itt would have caused us some trouble and [in] some respectes our hinderance, wee doubte not the evente would have releeved us in many particulers; which in regard of your generall differences (not [to] sett all in hazard) wee have wholly relinquished, to our longer sufferance in some, and such remedy in others as private giftes may induce'. The Portuguese have been loud in their threats of attacking the new fleet, but it is understood that they are obliged, by want of men and money, to wait until their Lisbon fleet arrives. (*Copy*. 5 *pp*.)

THE SAME TO WILLIAM METHWOLD, &C., AT MASULIPATAM, AUGUST 2[6], 1619 (*Ibid*., *f*. 124).

Thank them for their intelligence of the trouble with the Dutch, &c. At Achin, Indian cloth has fallen much in price, and pepper is at the same time scarce. They note their wish for a direct supply of goods from England. Will in the meantime send on such commodities as are likely to vend at Masulipatam. As regards the return cargo, they remind them of 'our masters desire for increase of there lynnens returne, which (by sight of some

[1] The Dutch. [2] Capital.

sortes from thence) wee perceave are better and cheaper then ours; besides they may in time no doubte assist to furnish the Red Sea trade, if prosecuted, which heare both by Pr[ince] and people is peremptorylie denied and forbidden us. Wee receaved your musters Bengala silke, which (though [you] distinguish nott) ar of two sortes, differinge in fineness [ ] more in cleare windinge. The better is something worse then the samples sent from England, whereof [wee] send you two skeynes hearewith. The fine is thatt [which] the Company exceptes agaynst and will none of itt; the [other?], if you can equall att the price in yours mencioned, and procure itts windinge in long skeynes (according to derecion) is the comodity required; wherein allso that you mistake nott the size, wee have sente you a skeyne wounde upp after the Persian forme, which is the length our masters desire, or att least three quarters thereof.' A quantity should be sent to Surat by the junk of that place, if she remain long enough; if not, 'by Cojanazans [Khwāja Nizām] convayance overland'; some specimens of various cloths should also be forwarded for transmission to England. 'As for trade in Bengala, our masters have often required [the?] attempte, in expectacion, itt seemes, of some profitable comodities thence for England [*see* p. 50 *n.*]; butt, as the case standes, wee see not how it can as now be undertaken.' The samples of indigo sent are very good, and the prices are cheaper than the ordinary Sarkhej indigo, which has of late years improved in price, while that of Biāna has fallen. The Company, however, complain that they are overstocked with indigo, and wish rather for linens. Goods for the southwards. Steel for Achin. The troubles with the Dutch. *P.S.*—'There is very little difference twixt our ynch [and] the tessau [*see* p. 93 *n.*] of this place, thirty-seven whereof contay[ne] one English yarde.' Request inquiry as to Bonner's success at 'Ekerree' [*see* p. 56]. (*Copy. Damaged.* 5½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO GEORGE BALL AT MASULIPATAM, AUGUST 27, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 124).

Refers him for news to the public letter [of yesterday], which should be shown to Methwold. Begs instant advice if it be determined that the Surat fleet shall be summoned to meet the Bantam ships at Priaman. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO THE [COMMANDER OF THE ENGLISH FLEET AT MASULIPATAM], AUGUST [30?], 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 127).

Prince Sultan Khurram has requested them to solicit that if an English ship be sent from Masulipatam to Surat it may come in company with his junk, now in the former port. They commend the request to his favourable consideration. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO AUGUSTINE SPALDING, &C., AT MASULIPATAM, AUGUST 30, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 127).

To the same effect as the foregoing. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT AHMADĀBĀD, AUGUST 31, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 128).

Send copies of the letters from Masulipatam. The troubles with the Dutch 'will prevente prosecucion of our projected restrayninge the Princes shipp and inforce sufferance till more conveniensie to expostulate our wrongs'. Biddulph at Agra has been 'absolutely refused the Mocha trade, and slightly answered to all other the demands'. There is a difficulty in remitting them money; so they should borrow if possible. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE FACTORS AT BROACH, AUGUST 31, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 128).

Cannot furnish them with money immediately; so they must take up some at interest or borrow of the brokers. This 'straing unexpected innovacion' of war with the Dutch 'at sowards' will much hamper trade. They must push on with the preparation of the baftas, &c., for England; and also take steps to recover the money owing at Baroda. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1¼ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO GILES JAMES AT BURHĀNPUR, SEPTEMBER 1, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 129).

Forward, for information and transmission to Agra, copies of the letters received from 'the Soward Councill', now at Masulipatam, announcing the quarrel with the Dutch. This news has caused the

abandonment of the projected seizure of the Prince's junk. If Biddulph's efforts at court have not prevailed, James may inform the Khānkhānān that the Surat factors are willing to give 'such securitie, eather of Moores or Banians, as himselfe shall require' to answer Soares's claim at law, if the caravan be now released. They leave it to James to spend 'any reasonable matter' in bribes, if necessary. The ginger and pepper intended for Persia should not be bought, as 'the Sowtharne accidentes' have made the dispatch of a ship thither doubtful. The 'byrames and serebaffes' for the Red Sea should also be omitted, as that trade is 'utterly refused us both by the Prince and these his ministers'. The goods for the southwards, however, should be hastened, as the fleet from England is expected shortly. (*Copy. Damaged.* $2\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO [WILLIAM BIDDULPH] AT AGRA, SEPTEMBER 1, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 130).

He is no doubt aware of 'the slender effectes the Prince his firmane prodused', though apparently it was effectual enough in form; and they fear Soares will appeal to the Prince. If he does, Biddulph must plead that 'wee are not liable to answere ought butt whatt consernes our masters busines': that the English are forbidden to trade with the Portuguese: that Soares has no acknowledgement from Nicholas Bangham to show for the goods: and so on. He should protest strongly against the detention of the caravan as unnecessary, the English 'havinge so great an estate in this cuntry to satisfie all demaunds', and should complain of the loss caused to them by this procedure. If possible he should obtain 'the Kinge or Prince his effectuall firmaen to prohibitte' such action in future. He is also to urge satisfaction for the indigo stolen from a previous caravan. They note his proceedings for the recovery of the debts at court. The enclosed letters will give him the news of the troubles with the Dutch to the southwards. They are afraid the 'Sotharne Councill' will insist upon the new fleet from England joining them; if so, all idea of the dispatch of ships to the Red Sea and Persia must be abandoned, but they will endeavour to get permission to send home one vessel, probably the

Lion. All Biddulph's efforts, therefore, should be devoted to the speedy release of the caravan. Errors in the invoice of goods. (*Copy. Damaged.* 4 *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT BROACH, SEPTEMBER [ ], 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 132).

Forwards by the bearers 3,000 mahmūdīs. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT AHMADĀBĀD, SEPTEMBER [ ], 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 132).

Are unable to send them money at present. Complaints from the shroffs. As regards the suggested dispatch of goods from Cambay to Surat by water, they must be cautious, as it is rumoured that the Portuguese 'frigatts armado of Dew' [Diu] have taken two Surat boats laden with timber from Nosārī. They find that conserves, &c., are cheaper at Surat than at Ahmadābād. Sale of their lead. (*Copy. Damaged.* 2 *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT BROACH, SEPTEMBER [7], 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 133).

Memorandum of the dispatch of bills of exchange. (½ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT BROACH, SEPTEMBER 8, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 133).

Send a further supply of money. Their goods should be got ready for speedy dispatch. Thomas Sprage is to return to Surat at once, but he will be sent back shortly. Request from Masulipatam for the purchase of provisions for the fleet. They have been prevented from buying at Surat, and therefore request the factors at Broach to procure what they can. (*Copy. Damaged.* 2 *pp.*)

[THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL] AT SURAT TO [GILES JAMES] AT BURHĀNPUR, SEPTEMBER 10, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 134).

Send Robert Tottle to be his linguist, attend the caravan, &c. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE TO THE ACTING GOVERNOR[1] OF SURAT, SEPTEMBER 11, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 135).

The English have been prohibited by the Camongoo[2] from purchasing wheat, &c., for their ship, which is expected from the Red Sea and is then to prepare for a voyage to Pr[iaman ?]. They request the removal of this embargo, or the assignment of a reason, since the right of provisioning has been granted by the King's and Prince's farmāns. If he distrusts their intentions, he may lock up the door of their warehouse. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO 'THE BANTAM COUNCILL ATT MUSELLAPATAM', SEPTEMBER 11, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 135).

They would be glad to hear whether the Council persist in requiring the dispatch of the fleet to their assistance. An endeavour has been made to purchase the provisions they have asked for, but the Acting Governor has, on some foolish suspicion, prohibited this pending the Governor's return. As regards powder, the Dutch have forty barrels, saved from the wreck of their vessel [*see* p. 29 *n.*], but it is doubtful whether they will sell. (*Copy. Part illegible.* 2 *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT MASULIPATAM, SEPTEMBER 11, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 136).

Refers to the accompanying letters [*see preceding entry*] for news. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

THE SAME TO IS-HĀQ BEG, GOVERNOR OF SURAT, SEPTEMBER 14, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 137).

News has arrived that at the Prince's command the Khānkhānān has released the caravan, and that orders have also been issued to compensate the English for the robbery of their indigo. He reminds the Governor that they have hitherto forborne to complain regarding his non-provision of a suitable dwelling for them, and hopes that steps to content them will be taken immediately. (*Copy. Damaged.* ¾ *p.*)

[1] Apparently the 'Captain of the Castle'.

[2] Pers. *kānūn-gū*, 'an expounder of the law.' In Upper India the term is applied to a revenue officer.

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT BROACH, SEPTEMBER 15, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 137).

Forward bills for 3,000 mahmūdīs. Will send back Thomas Sprage to-morrow. The goods at Burhānpur have been released and are now on their way to Surat. The Governor on his return licensed their purchases, and they have consequently bought 2,000 maunds of wheat. They will, however, still need some from Broach. Gravances[1], 'if you meane cheine[2],' can probably be bought as cheap at Surat. 'White jaller[3], beeinge a kind of small pease, and c[ ]wlee, a kind of red much used and desired by our people,' should be provided; also butter, which may be obtained from Ankleswar, 'where itt is much made.' (*Copy. Damaged.* 1½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT BROACH, SEPTEMBER 16, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 138).

Purchase of provisions and making of biscuits. Thomas Sprage, the bearer, will deliver them 2,oco mahmūdīs. (*Copy. Damaged.* ¾ *p.*)

THE SAME TO THE FACTORS AT AHMADĀBĀD, SEPTEMBER 17, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 138).

Recommends the bearer, a native merchant, for the conveyance of any goods they may wish to send to Surat. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

[THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL] AT SURAT TO WILLIAM BIDDULPH, &C., [AT AGRA], SEPTEMBER 17, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 138).

Have received his letter with copy of the Prince's second farmān to the Khānkhānān, who, on receiving the original, 'gave presente order for a full restitucion without further delay or question,' and also issued two farmāns, one for compensation to the English for the indigo taken from them, the other securing them 'quiett and secure passage' throughout his district. They praise Biddulph for obtaining these satisfactory results. As regards the Prince's 'absolute deniall' of the Red Sea trade, they have resolved, 'seeinge there is no very greate hope wee shall use any meanes of constraynt,' to prepare a petition to the Prince setting forth their

[1] A term applied to various kinds of peas or beans used for food on board ship.
[2] *Chana*, or chick-pea.
[3] Apparently some kind of *dāl*.

reasons. They propose to stay the junk on arrival for a few days to extort, if possible, some redress of their grievances, but will not act in earnest 'untill our re-establishment att sowards'. If the detention of his ship be brought to the Prince's knowledge, 'you may impute [it] to the pride and obstinacy of his ministers, thatt will not performe his commands, though sufficiently ample.' They are glad to hear of the sale of the camlets and mohairs. Disposal of cloth and provision of indigo. 'Itt is rumorde heare thatt the Prince C[horoo]m is disgraced by his father; which were much to be desired, for so longe as the master is not our favorer, his servantes will little befrind us.' The Portuguese threatened to occupy Swally Road before the fleet arrived, but 'certayne intilligence affirmeth they cannott come soe soone, wantinge both men and mony'. If they come at all, it will not be much before December. (*Copy. Damaged.* 3 *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO JOHN BANGHAM AT BURHĀNPUR, SEPTEMBER 19, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 141).

They have sent Robert Tottle with 'perwans' from the late Partab Shāh to facilitate the passing of goods at 'Dayta' [*see* p. 74 *n.*]. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO JOHN BANGHAM AT BURHĀNPUR, SEPTEMBER 25, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 141).

Advise dispatch of Tottle, who will see to the clearing of the first caravan at Dhāita, 'which, as itt is reported, is likly to bee suddanly possessed by Chan Chanas sarvantes, and therefore hope itt will passe the easier by virtue of his perwane.' Both the latter and Partab Shāh's parwāna will then be sent to Bangham. No news yet of the ships from England or of the *Lion*. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO ROBERT TOTTLE, SEPTEMBER 25, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 142).

Directions for clearing the caravan and sending the Khānkhānān's parwāna to Burhānpur. Money forwarded for his expenses. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT AHMADĀBĀD, SEPTEMBER 25, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 140).

They cannot yet decide whether a ship can be spared for Persia. Release of the goods detained at Burhānpur. No news yet of the fleet or of the *Lion*. They are awaiting directions from Masulipatam or from home. (*Copy. Damaged.* 2 *pp.*)

THE SAME TO WILLIAM BIDDULPH, &C., [AT AGRA?], SEPTEMBER 30, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 142).

No tidings yet of the fleet from England nor of the *Lion* from the Red Sea. Rumours of Khurram's disgrace. 'The [ ]sherses lyberty is devulged, and thatt great some [s] and mony have beene presented him by the [King?] raysinge of him will be the fall of the other [ ] whose high expectacion would [by no means be?] induced to conformitie.' As regards the goods desired by Āsaf Khān, they will gladly comply if he will send his servants to the fleet to fetch them. It is probable, however, that the Prince's servants will refuse to allow any such goods to pass, as Khurram was very angry recently at their letting slip the picture of a horse which Biddulph presented to the King [*see* p. 111], and ordered them to be more careful in future; 'the Governor of Barroch with a raged regiment beeinge allready heare arrived under pretence thereof, though wee knowe this machivill[1] divell, Isake Beage, hath wrought itt rather to confirme his pretended suspecte of the danger the towne is in duringe the time of our shippes, if not stored with soldiers, whereof he hath none.' Transcripts of their former letters sent. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1½ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE FACTORS AT BROACH, OCTOBER [2], 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 143).

Have been prevented from sending 'dubas[2]' for the butter. News has just come from Gandevi that three vessels are in sight,

[1] Machiavellian.

[2] Hind. *dabbah*, a tub made of hides to hold *ghee* or butter.

'whereof two are crosse sayles and the third the juncke, either of this place or Goga.' The same intelligence just received from Nosārī. They conjecture that the two 'crosse sayles' are the *Lion* and her pinnace. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

THE SAME TO THE COMMANDER OF THE ENGLISH SHIPS AT SURAT BAR, OCTOBER 2, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 143).

The Customer (?), being about to send a boat to inquire news of the Prince's junk, has desired a note to request the English commander to give what information he can. He may do this, but should not permit any one to land until the factors come aboard, which they hope to do this evening in Swally Road. The junk should be kept at Surat Bar for the present. There is no danger of attack from the Portuguese. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

HENRY CROSBY'S JOURNAL OF HIS VOYAGE[1] IN THE *CHARLES* TO SURAT, MARCH–OCTOBER, 1619 (*Marine Records*, xxix, 1–8).

Passed the Lizard March 21. Reached 'Souldany baye' [Table Bay] June 24. While there 'the Daynes came in with six sayle'.[2] Bickley's ships sailed for Surat on July 12. Refreshed at the Comoro Islands. Arrived at Swally October 3. (9 *pp.*)

CAPTAIN JOHN BICKLEY'S NOTES OF HIS VOYAGE FROM THE CAPE TO SURAT [JULY–OCTOBER, 1619] (*O. C.* 806).[3]

Passed 'the Cape of Agulias' July 17 [1619]. Reached Mohilla [Comoro Islands] August 18. The *Charles* alone had 97 men sick, most of whom recovered their health at this place. Their anchorage was off 'Mirengona' [Miringoni]. Left August 23 and arrived at Swally October 3. (*Holograph.* 3 *pp.*)

[1] In the fleet commanded by John Bickley (or Bickell), consisting of the *Charles*, *Ruby*, and *Diamond*. The *Palsgrave*, *Elizabeth*, and *Hope*, bound for Bantam, were in company as far as the Cape.

[2] This was the fleet dispatched in Nov., 1618, by the newly-founded Danish East India Company (see introduction). It consisted of five vessels (not six, as stated above; cf. p. 136), and was commanded by Ove Gjedde.

[3] Mainly nautical notes and directions.

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT BROACH, OCTOBER 6, 1619 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2122, *f.* 144).

The ships from England have arrived. The news they brought will be communicated later; 'meane time you may apprehend [that] there is no allteracion of what Sir Thomas Roe [? enjoy]ned, butt the Companies whole affayres, both for land and sea, confirmed to our disposure.' They request early dispatch of goods and provisions. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

THE SAME TO THE COMMANDER OF THE FLEET, OCTOBER 6, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 144).

Inquire for certain letters from England. As to purchase of provisions and choice of a purser to look after this. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THE SAME TO [THE FACTORS ON BOARD THE SHIPS?], OCTOBER [6], 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 144).

As soon as accommodation can be prepared for them, the coaches will be sent to fetch them up; 'in which intrim do intreate your patience and that you speake unto the Comander not to permitte any of his people to straggle abroade.' Inquire for letters addressed to any of the factors in India or Persia. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

[THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES] AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT AHMADĀBĀD, [OCTOBER 7], 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 146).

Arrival of the *Charles*, *Ruby*, and *Diamond*. 'The cheife master, who also comanded the rest, was John Bickle, that was a mate in the *Guift* att your [Browne's] comming forth from England.' Their consorts, the *Palsgrave*, *Elizabeth*, and *Hope*, have gone for Bantam. At the Cape they met the *Little James* homeward bound. They found there some letters left by Sir Thomas Roe, but they were too wet and rotten to be read. 'The expected passificacion twixt the Dutch and us is nott (itt seemes) concluded, nor do the Company

advise ought conserning itt. Some of the States[1] were in England att departure of these shippes, and greatly blamed by the Kinge, yett no conclucion, though the expectacion therof d[etai]ned the whole fleets dispatch till Mar[ch, w]hereby they tucht not att Succatora.' No news yet of the *Lion* or of the Prince's junk. The Company's letter will show how the fleet is to be disposed of, and the large supply they have ordered for Persia. Any goods provided at Ahmadābād for that purpose should be sent down at once. As matters stand, the investment ordered by the Company for Bantam must be held over, but that for Sumatra should be provided in full. The Company's opinion regarding indigo and desire for increase of all linen commodities should be noted. (*Copy. Damaged.* 2 *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO WILLIAM BIDDULPH, &C., [AT AGRA], OCTOBER 7, 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 147).

Arrival of the fleet. Copy of the Company's letter sent herewith. The *Lion* has not yet returned. Already they have had great inquiry for 'tophas[2]', but they are hindered by the officers' 'accustomed musseroes[3]'. They urge him to take every opportunity of disgracing the latter, 'espetially to Isake Beage, whose innate hatred debarreth us all meanes of negosiacion, not only in deprivinge us of fitting houses, butt allso molestinge us with prohibicions in [all] the passages of our businesses.' They send a petition for presentation to the Prince. Provision of silk. The Company's complaints regarding the quality of the semians and also of the way in which they were packed. (*Copy. Damaged.* 3 *pp.*)

PETITION TO PRINCE KHURRAM (SHĀH JAHĀN), OCTOBER 7, 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 145).

'Peticion of the humble supplyante Thomas Kerridge and Company, English merchantes resident in Surat, who, prostrated with

[1] Representatives of the States-General. For these negotiations see the preface to the *Calendar of State Papers, E. Indies*, 1617-21.

[2] Pers. *tuhfa*, 'a present.'

[3] This word (written later 'musserad') is probably the Pers. *masarrat*, 'a cause of joy,' applied to the Prince's written or spoken approval of his officers' actions. The sense here seems to be that the latter, in their eagerness to earn the Prince's commendations, looked very sharply after all curiosities from England, of which by agreement he was to have first choice.

due and accustomed reverence, do with all humillitie peticion the high, mightie, vertuous and resplendant Prince, master of the world [1], and for whose increase of felicitie wee allwayes pray.' After acknowledging the Prince's favour in releasing the caravan, they complain of the prohibition of the English trade with the Red Sea. They recall the rescue of the *Begum Shāhī* from the pirates [2] and the help afforded last year by the English sailors when the Prince's junk went aground. 'Profitt wee seeke nott;' but they cannot send ships to convoy the junks unless allowed to recoup themselves by trade for the expense. 'Every yeare in many occacions wee do Your Highness service, whereof itt seemes you have not receaved informacion nor wee the musero' [*see* p. 126 *n.*]. They further beg assistance in the recovery of a debt from 'one Groo' [Guru], the removal of the embargo on purchases at Nosārī and Baroda, and permission to return to their former factory, which is still unoccupied, while they are forced to make shift with eight houses, not one of which is convenient. If this cannot be permitted, they solicit licence to build a suitable dwelling. (*Copy. Damaged.* 2 *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT MASULIPATAM, OCTOBER 8, 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 148).

Express astonishment at not having heard from 'the remooved Bantam Co[uncil]' whether they still insist that the ships from England should join them at Priaman. Arrival of the fleet. No pacification yet concluded with the Dutch. The Company wish for larger linen investments and less indigo. It has been decided to send the whole fleet to Persia, as the Company have advised the dispatch of four carracks and six galleons from Lisbon this year. Provision of raw silk [from Bengal?]. 'The arrived fleete [met] att the Cape with six shipps belonginge to [the] Kinge of Denmark, thatt (as themselves reported) were bound for Sealon with weomen and [ ].' (*Copy. Damaged.* 3½ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO WILLIAM MARTIN AT BROACH, [OCTOBER 8?], 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 154).

To dispatch immediately all goods intended for Persia. Those from Burhānpur have already arrived. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

[1] i. e. Shāh Jahān (the Prince's title). [2] See *Letters Received*, vol. vi. p. 173, &c.

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO CAPTAIN BICKLEY AT SWALLY, OCTOBER [8?], 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 150).

Letters received. Berthing of the *Diamond*. Provisions for the fleet. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO [THE BANTAM COUNCIL], OCTOBER 9, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 151).

Arrival of ships from England. Copies of the letters brought by the fleet have been sent by way of Masulipatam. Disposal of the ships. The *Lion* is not yet returned from the Red Sea. The Company having sent a large supply of money and goods for Persia, it has been resolved to order the whole fleet thither. (*Copy. Part illegible.* 1½ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO WILLIAM MARTIN AND RICHARD LANCASTER [AT BROACH], OCTOBER 9, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 154).

They are to refrain for the present from passing any goods over the river, but to house them securely and await orders. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO [CAPTAIN MARTIN PRING?], OCTOBER 9, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 151).

Thanks him for his letter. Arrival of the fleet, which left the Downs March 16. News brought by the ships. Their intended dispatch to Persia. The *Lion* has not yet returned from Mocha. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 2½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO [CAPTAIN JOHN BICKLEY AT SWALLY], OCTOBER 10, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 152).

As to the discharge of his cargoes and purchase of provisions for the ships. They beg him to send some rials by the merchants. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1½ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE MERCHANTS ARRIVED IN THE FLEET, OCTOBER 10, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 153).

Have now, as promised, sent a couple of coaches to convey them to Surat. To avoid trouble in the custom-house they should bring

as little luggage as possible. Captain Bickley has been asked to send some rials in their charge. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO [CAPTAIN BICKLEY?] AT SWALLY, [OCTOBER 10? 1619] (*Ibid., f.* 154).

Hopes to be at Swally to-night and to arrive on board in the morning. In the meantime the rials and coral should be prepared for delivery. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THE SAME TO [WILLIAM MARTIN AT BROACH], OCTOBER 12, 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 154).

Understands from his letter that the Cambay goods had already passed the river before the arrival of the order to stop them [*see* p. 128]. Payment of the customs. They await the commodities destined for Persia. Bills for 3,000 mahmūdīs sent. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

[THE SAME?] TO MESSRS. EWING (?) AND DYER[1] [ON BOARD THE FLEET AT SWALLY?], OCTOBER [13?], 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 155).

The officers refuse to permit the passage of the coral and the [rials?]; so he is forced to send both back again. (*Copy. Much damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO JOHN BROWNE, &c., AT AHMADĀBĀD, OCTOBER [18?], 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 155).

The indigo caravan, were not the goods for Persia included, might with advantage have been deferred for two months, as it is difficult to find warehousing room at Surat. The goods from Cambay two days ago 'came safely to Beriewe[2], and [are] there howsed att the Adowyas[3]'. Both the dispatch of the Surat fleet to Priaman and the supply of provisions have been countermanded; 'for first the requyrie was lame, neather strengthened by Sea Councill nor seconded, though both were promised'; secondly, the Company have expressly commanded the prosecution of the [Persian?] trade;

[1] Probably some junior factors or masters' mates left on board the fleet.
[2] Variao, on the right bank of the Tāptī, about three miles north of Surat.
[3] From subsequent references it appears that these were native carriers.

thirdly, the seamen declare they cannot reach Priaman by the time fixed. Goods for Persia and Sumatra. They have landed the rials, but cannot yet procure bills for transmission. The *Lion* has arrived from the Red Sea, having lost but one man, and sold her cargo 'to contente'. Trouble at the custom-house over the coral brought by the fleet. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 3 *pp.*)

[THE SAME] TO [WILLIAM MARTIN, &C., AT BROACH?], OCTOBER 18, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 156).

Goods and letters received. As regards the investments, they are 'by all possible meanes to inlarge those enjoyned for England, both in narrowe and broad baftes, accordinge to order receaved from our masters, where more are required then this cuntry will afforde'. Troubles with the officials. Money forwarded. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 1 *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO JOHN BROWNE, &C., AT AHMADĀBĀD, OCTOBER [19?], 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 157).

Have got their specie cleared from the custom-house, on undertaking to reship the coral if so commanded by the Prince. In the meantime they have housed the coral at 'Raneell[1], the house chaptt[2] both by them and us'. The Mokha factors calculate they have made nearly a hundred per cent. clear profit. This trade is too good to be lost, and they will further consider the means of prosecuting it. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO WILLIAM BIDDULPH, &C., [AT AGRA], OCTOBER 19, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 157).

The *Lion* arrived on the 14th, having been [fifty]-four days on her return voyage. This was partly due to their waiting too long for the Prince's junk, which, like that of Goghā, has lost her monsoon and cannot return till next year. Further troubles with the officials. The latter forbade the landing of the coral from the fleet, and would not permit it to be passed over the river. Thereupon the English

[1] Rānder, on the right bank of the Tāptī, two miles above Surat.
[2] Sealed (Hind. *chhāp*, 'a seal-impression').

refused to pass over their silver, threatening to return both to the ships. [*Part illegible.*] They beg him to represent their grievances and to submit the enclosed petitions. Presents, &c., for the Prince. 'To Asaphe Chan you may allso alleadge the cause of our not bringinge tofne [*see* p. 126 *n*.], and resolucion not to bringe anye more till assured remedy; for whome wee will send the pearle mencioned in our masters letters, in hope both of his payment and frendshippe.' Other goods will be forwarded to him as soon as possible. It will probably be necessary to send the whole fleet to Jask. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 3 *pp*.)

PETITION FROM THE SURAT FACTORS TO AFZAL KHĀN, OCTOBER 20, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f*. 159).

Their ships have brought a quantity of coral, 'which the Governor and merchantes, consultinge together, prohibitt us to sell, and have written a joynt peticion unto the Prince Shaugh Jehaune His Highnesse for his nishane [*see* p. 107 *n*.] to forbid itts sale and our further trade in thatt comodity, pretending our dealinge therein to bee prejudiciall unto them and His Highnesse.' But the latter would benefit by the increase of the customs paid by the English, while the loss to the merchants cannot be great, seeing that much coral is already imported from the Red Sea and Christendom, 'all which is yearely spent in the cuntry of Decann.' They beg him to use his influence with the Prince to redress this grievance, and further to procure them liberty to trade to Mokha, in which case they would be able to preserve the Prince's ship from pirates. They hear that this year several vessels have come 'belonginge to a cuntry called Denmark'; their intentions are doubtful, and it would be well to safeguard 'both his and your Honors shippes'. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 1½ *pp*.)

PETITION FROM THE SURAT FACTORS TO THE PRINCE, [OCTOBER 20, 1619] (*Ibid.*, *f*. 160).

They recite their grievances and pray redress. They mention that their ship from Mokha nearly lost her monsoon in waiting to convoy his junks, hoping thus 'to have manifested our service to Your Highness'. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 1 *p*.)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO [ROBERT] YOUNG [AT SWALLY], OCTOBER 22, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 160).

Forwards some bows and arrows sent from Ahmadābād by Browne as a present to Young. Kerridge has appeased the Governor of 'Urpall[1]' and the sailors may now obtain water from thence. Requests that some [strong waters?] may be sent up. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO THE COMMANDER AND MASTERS OF THE FLEET, OCTOBER 22[2], 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 160).

They entrust the fitting up of the pinnace to Captain Bickley. [ ] Cur[tis][3] appointed master of her. [John] Weddell[4] appointed a member of the Sea Council. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO WILLIAM MARTIN AT BROACH, OCTOBER 22, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 161).

Has arranged for housing the goods brought by the caravan, except those for Persia, which must be embarked at once, as the fleet is to sail shortly. The purchase of 'linnens' should be pushed on as fast as possible. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

[THOMAS KERRIDGE] AT SURAT TO CAPTAIN BICKLEY AT SWALLY, OCTOBER [28?], 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 161).

Protests his sincerity. Goods sent and required. Preparation of the fleet for the voyage to Persia. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO THE CAPTAIN OF THE GUARDS [AT THE WATERING-PLACE?], OCTOBER 28, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 162).

Communicates some complaints and requests investigation. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

[1] Olpād, about twelve miles north-west of Surat. Cf. *Letters Received*, vol. iv. p. 329.

[2] The copy is dated the 23rd, but a subsequent reference, and its position in the book, show that this is a slip.

[3] Probably John Curtis, master's mate of the *Lion*.

[4] Master of the *Lion*.

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO JOHN BROWNE, &C., AT AHMADĀBĀD, OCTOBER [28?], 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 162).

Arrival and disposal of the goods for Persia, &c. A letter has been received from a shroff named 'Natashawe' [*see* p. 91], now at Ahmadābād, offering to supply the English merchants there with money, to be repaid at Surat. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO WILLIAM MARTIN, &C., AT BROACH, [NOVEMBER 1?], 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 168).

They have acquainted the Governor of Broach with the dispute regarding the customs, and he has sent a parwāna ordering the Customer to treat the English properly. This is forwarded herewith; also 18,000 mahmūdīs in bags under the care of certain Englishmen, besides some bills of exchange. *P.S.*—A further 'perwanna' received from 'Hemett Chan [1]', blaming the Customer for his 'ruffe dealinge'. 'The Mirza [2]' has also written to the latter, ordering him to leave the payment of the customs to Kerridge. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN BICKLEY FOR A VOYAGE TO PERSIA, NOVEMBER [3?], 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 173).

To sail to the port of Jask and there land the goods placed on board the fleet. To be vigilant against attacks by the Portuguese. Directions as to any prizes that may be taken. Limit of stay at Jask. If no risk from the Portuguese, the *Ruby* and the pinnace may be left a few days longer to take in goods. The *Lion* is placed under the orders of Captain Bickley [3], but her officers are not to be removed without Weddell's consent. She is to rank as the third ship of the fleet. 'Our masters, havinge beene exceedingely [abu]sed by some mens excessive expence in fresh victualls, have now ordayned that you shall not exceed three or four meales a weake.' [4] [*Part illegible.*] If on the return of the fleet (having

[1] Himmat Khān, Governor of Broach.

[2] Mīrzā Muhammad Yār, the Governor's brother.

[3] The *Lion* had come out in Bonner's fleet, and was therefore in a quasi-independent position.

[4] For a diet-table of a few years later see *Letters Received*, vol. v. p. 163.

left the *Ruby* and the pinnace behind) they find Swally occupied by the Portuguese in force, it would be well to await the arrival of those two ships before making any attack. (*Copy. Damaged. 3½ pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, NOVEMBER 3 AND 5, 1619 (*O. C.* 818).[1]

Refer to their previous letters of February 16 and March 12. The ivory brought by Bonner's fleet was detained by the custom-house officials over four months, to their great loss. Their lead was also detained until two months ago, which has frustrated the year's sale; they are further hampered by 'itts transportinge to other parts beinge prohibited, and of late more narrowlie looked unto'. However, of both these commodities the quantities formerly advised should be yearly sent, as also sixty chests of tin. 'Your tapestrie &c. mercerie wares, after longe lyinge in the custom-howse, were sealed by the Princes officers and sent to their master at court, where also after certaine monethes detention beinge opened, the Prince tooke choice of what he liked and appointed part of the rest to the Kings usse; which beinge yet unpaid for, we cannott certainelie advize the benefitt that will arise thereon.' Some more should be sent for presents, according to the list enclosed; also forty or fifty pieces of satin of good colours. The commodities listed by Sir Thomas Roe for the lading of the *Lion* are nearly ready; 'onlie in the lynen comodities we have bene verie much backwarded by the Governour and merchants of this place, whoe by all possible meanes have and doe still endeavour to prevent any large investment therein.' The indigo caravan from Agra arrested by Soares; it has now been released at a cost of above 150*l.* charges, besides other damages. 'Presentlie uppon disspeede of the junke of this place for the Redd Sea, by whome we sent our letters of the 12th March, these merchants, falinge into consideration of theire owne and our bussines, perceiveing we began in severall places our lynen investmentts, caled together all the brokers of this towne and parts adjacent, straightlie

[1] There is a damaged copy in *Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2122, *f.* 169.

charginge them under great penalties not to buy, sell or deale for the English in any comoditie whatsoever, forceinge writeinges from such as had formerlie dealt for us, by greater feare to restraine them ; and not contented by abridginge us this place and Nunceree, wrote letters also to the Governours of Baroch and Brodera that it was the Prince his pleasure we should not buy any linen comodities; to the latter of whome, haveinge never before had any residence in his towne, we sent the Kinge and Princes firmaens in contradiction, which were of no validitie soe longe as the Governour [of] Surrat req[uired the] contrarie; not for that he is of more power then any of them, but because he pretended to have the Prince his authoritie for his order. Thereuppon, after sundrie conferrences and publicke protests on both parts, an assemblie of all the merchants were convocated by the Governour, where both in the Prince his name and for themselves they publicklie protested against our trade into the Redd Sea, vowinge never to suffer it, nor any other if wee immediatelie gave it not over or had the least intendment thither; and fynallie prohibitted our lynen investments in all places on this side Amadavad, confineinge our employmentts, both for England and southwards, to Baroch onlie, which, as it is the place of common recourse for all men, soe is it indeede the dearest of all other; the rest, as Surratt, Nunceree, and Brodra, they reserve for their owne investments, which they alleadge afford not comodities sufficient to lade the Prince his shippe for the Redd Sea, and therefore required the withdrawinge of our moneie; which, soe great a necessitie (as there stoppinge the whole course of our busines) compellinge, we condescended unto, and promised not to make any investments for the Redd Sea untill the Prince his pleasure were further knowne; whoe uppon our requirie beinge therein solicited by Wm. Biddulph (your agent at court) hath two severall times by his owne mouth given absolute denyall; whereby untill Your Worships shall ordaine and authorize a remedie, you are utterlie frustrated of that trade. Our dwellinge howse, by vertue of a firmaun sent downe before Sir Thomas Roe his departure (the contracted time of three yeares being expired), was also taken from us, and we exposed to sundrie pettie habitations, whereby our troubles are greatlie encreased, Your Worships damnified in sundrie kindes, and busynes protracted; for which as yet, it beinge now

five monthes since, we finde no relieffe, there beinge indeede no convenyent howse in all the towne to be procured, for rent, except neare the river side, where they will not permitt us to dwell; and to buy or build we were three yeares since by the Prince his expresse comande forbidden.' Letters received on August 25 from the Bantam Council announcing their arrival at 'Narrapellie' [*see* p. 110], and from the Masulipatam factory advising that Dale had reached that place with his fleet. Copies of these letters forwarded. Bickley's fleet arrived on the 2nd [October]. News from the Cape, where 'the 12th ditto [July] arrived also five Danish shipps, whoe, though they pretended to be bound for Ceilon, to inhabitt, it is to be feared they have some more facill designe'. Their business has been much retarded by first the Bantam Council's demand that the fleet should be sent to their assistance, and, secondly, the delay in the arrival of the ships, which made them doubt whether any were coming this year. 'The *Lyon*, whoe the last yeare was sent to trade into the Redd Sea, stayinge over longe for dispatch at Mocha, returned not hither untill the 14th current [1], haveinge bene 54 daies on the way and had almost lost her monsone (as both the junks of this place and Goga have done, for [they] are not returned from Judda); whose voyadge, for the quantitie of goods shee carried, hath returned to good accompt. The English cloth (soe much as was merchantable) sould at Synan to good profitt, where 20 or 30 clothes may yearlie finde vent; but the comodities of this place would indeede give liffe to that trade, all sent beinge sould at cent. per cent. profitt, and the returnes in readie specie; whereof in our next per sea we shalbe more large, and wish you may be pleased to consider and determine on the course we shall ellswhere propose for itts contynuance. Of the specie and comodities come on this your fleete we have here landed the proportion by Your Worships designed, and left the remainder aboard intended for Persia, as by you enordered; wherewith for more saftie (in regard of a rumour of four gallions gon for Ormus) we have determined the whole fleete for Jasques. In the dischardginge of your goods here we landed first your specie and currall, as haveinge present usse of the former and Decan merchants attendinge with desire to buy the latter; which expectinge to transport over the river, we were

[1] 'October' is meant.

denyed boates and comanded to returne the currall againe unto the shipps, the merchants all in an uproare withstandinge your bringinge of that comoditie, as once before in our letter per the *Bull* advised you; which causinge a new question, we pretended to returne also the specie and dissolve the trade; wherein four daies beinge spent, and perceiveinge their resolutions stedfast to prohibite our bringinge of that comoditie, we passed our moneys and obtained onlie leave to howse the currall at Raneale (sealed upp by them) untill the fleete should return from Jasques, or the Prince his pleasure be further knowne concerneinge it; to whome we have written a petticion thereof and sundrie other our greivances, but have smale hope of remedie; whereby you will perceive the smale reason we have to encourage supplie of that comoditie, which if you please to enforce a trade, we do not disswade the sendinge of the former required quantities, the rather for that both at Dabull and Mesulepatnam (the ports of Decan) it will proove as vendible as in this place.' The other commodities sent are more in quantity than they desired, especially quicksilver, of which, however, an eighth had leaked out on the way. They beg that 'hereafter you wilbe pleased to observe our last advice for the quantities, and that good regard also be had unto the qualitie, packinge, and stowinge of all the comodities you send'. They were glad to hear of the safe arrival of the *Bull* in England. As regards the advisability of the earlier dispatch of ships going home, they will do their best in future, but fear that this year delays are unavoidable, owing to 'the innate accustomed villeny' of the local officials. Some of their goods for Persia have been fifteen days in the custom-house, yet 'we cannott gett them dispatched; for they will doe nothinge without bribes, which howsoever extorted is made a contynuall custome, enforced as a dutie, and yet they never contented nor wilbe made sensible of the necessitie of our hast.... Your earnestnes for encreasse of linen comodities and disesteeme of indico we also apprehend, and are verie sorrie the former (whereon our hopes depended) is not alone sufficient to answere your expectations of this trade, which we humblie entreat you will not impute to overweeninge or presumption that we plainelie declare [it?] will not be worth the followinge except constrained; for as the meare motive of our first reception was for conservation and contynuance of their

trade into [the] Redd Sea, &c., soe, the proffitt thereon ariseinge from the lynen of this countrie, they will even to the uttmost of their power hinder our investments therein; for though this countrie be esteemed rich, we finde the common inhabitants to be verie needie, and have not meanes, nor indeede will (beinge subject to the tyranny of everie officer), to make provision of any store of comodities beforehand, contentinge themselves rather with what everie daies labour affordeth; which also keepeth low the prizes when there is little usse, and maketh a present dearth and scarcitie uppon the least extraordinarie occasion. The place allotted to you is onlie Barroch, as aforesaid, which by good experience we finde will not yeild the eighth part of your demandes, beinge the common receptacle of Decans and all other traders both to the Red Sea and southwards. Brodra also, which is a towne of great trade and under the Kinges jurisdiction, is free unto all men, onlie the English are exempted. The meanes of remedie hath bene argued and contrasted in our last and former registers sent you, and our letters per the *Bull* gave you a tast thereof, whereto your answere beinge too spareinge for warrant, we will more particularlie touch the pointe, and referr it to your more seryous consideration. It were needelesse, we know, to shew you that the cause of our settlinge here was for feare of your shipps, and that our beinge is a burden to these, whoe have ever repined at and covertlie hindered your designes; which nowe themselves grown prosperous, and secured by your estate in the countrie, they more apparantlie declare; wherein by our sufferance also they are grown impudent, and will still continue to a further height of oppression, if you enforce not a feelinge of the like inconvenyencies on them. The course we propose is the stoppinge of their junks [*sic*] with the cheiffe of their people in her and meanes at [the] barr [of] Surratt, and there also to bringe that of Goga, if convenientlie to be gotten; thereby to enforme the Kinge [that] our wrongs are insupportable, and ascertaine the Prince you will rather leave the trade then endure them; which doubtlesse would procure whatsoever priviledges you shall desire lesse prejudiciall then the subversion of their trade, which they know cannott subsist, your people beinge hence; and then the articles of your residence wilbe confirmed both by Kinge and Prince, and your servants (for a time) releived;

whome when they againe oppresse, you have the same remedie. The uttmost damadge that hereto can be aledged is the missinge of one yeares returne, which through timelie provision may also be prevented and your goods shipt aboard before theirs released. It will doubtlesse be cause of troubles and prejudice to your busines for the time, but much more to theirs, and benefitt to yours in the future. Which if you conceive necessarie to hazzard, you may please to give ample authority for itts effectinge; otherwise, if reservedlie, it will not be undertaken, the successe beinge doubtfull and of most hazzard to the factors whoe shall direct it on shoare. By this course of constraint you may also, if you please, initiate a trade at Dabull, where most of the comodities you hither send will vend, and that place affords some clothinge both for Red Sea and southwards; for England we conceive it too fine, yet were it not amisse to be experienced. Your securitie and assurance of faire dealinge must be their junks, their nature and necessitie coheireinge with their neighbours of Suratt. A further necessitie also urgeth your trade into the Redd Sea, for by the recourse of those newcome Danes and other pyratts it is greatlie to be feared some of their junks may come short, whose losse wilbe soe sensible as not onlie your returnes wilbe hindered, but your estate in the countrie questioned; of whome though we have earnestlie laboured to make them apprehend the danger, and the securitie our trade thither wilbe unto them, they are still incredible, and alledge that there are onlie three Christian nations, the Portugalls, English, and Dutch, of whome they are secured. With this feare we have endeavoured to possesse the Prince, and shall farther instance it. And if these attempts have approbation in your judgment, be pleased for the first to enorder your fleetes arrivall about the 15th or 16th September, that soe they may be here before the junks, whoe usually come the 20th or 22th ditto, or, meetinge on the waie, to accom[pany] and detaine them untill your factors come aboard, but [ ] moderation as they be not greived nor have occasion to [jealousy?]. And if you intend to settle at Dabull also, strength of shippinge is requisite, that soe Persia may be securelie supplied and a part of your fleete emploied in the interim at Dabull, seinge the first settlinge must needes require some time; which if they refuse, their shipps that yearlie goe both

to Mocha and Sumatra will repaie your charge; and if they receive you, one fleete may afterwards supplie Jasques, Suratt, Dabull, and Mocha yearlie: the shipps for Mocha to returne hither, and the rest to proceede for Dabull, Sumatra, and Bantam; wherein be pleased to give the larger instructions, for that it is verie doubtfull some of us whoe now project these shall not be here to direct or see the effectinge.' The commodities provided in India for Persia amount but to 43,209 mahmūdīs 30 pice. They have not been able to send spices, &c., as none have come from Bantam, and in India they are too dear. The *Lion* will be sent home on her return from Jask, whither she accompanies the fleet. She shall be dispatched as soon as possible, but they fear it will be the end of February before she can sail. *P.S.*—They enclose letters received from the Bantam Council and Captain Pring at Masulipatam, announcing the death of Sir Thomas Dale, &c. (8 *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO THOMAS BARKER, &C., IN PERSIA, OCTOBER 29 AND NOVEMBER 6, 1619 (*O. C.* 817).[1]

In answer to their letter from Jask dated December 10, 1618, addressed to Sir Thomas Roe. Expenses and estates of the late Francis Tipton. The rials they borrowed from the company of the *Expedition* have been debited to their account. They ought before this to have advised the prices obtained for the goods sent in that ship, as that would have been a useful guide in regard to the supply now dispatched to them. William Blundstone is to be reshipped, as ordered by Sir Thomas Roe. Some of the bales of silk received from them were opened, and the quality gave satisfaction; they were then covered with cotton and gunny, and all sent home on the *Royal Anne*. No more should be sent until orders come from home. 'You say that thirteen shahes[2] and one casbegg is a royall of eight, and that two shahees maketh a ma[hmūdī]; which cannott bee, except the royall bee worth 6½ m[ahmūdīs] and one casbegg, which you knowe is seldome heere at five m[ahmūdīs].' Their request that the fleet may remain at Jask the whole season cannot

[1] There is a damaged copy in *Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2122, *f.* 162.
[2] See p. 83 *n.* Ten *casbegs* went to the *shāhī.*

be granted, and they must send it back at the time appointed. No glazier has come in this fleet, and so it is to be feared that window glass is useless. Concerning William Robbins' demands. A statement of account of the old joint stock requested. Money lent by William Tracy. Details of the missing fowling-pieces. The want of weight in the ivory 'may happen through blekidge[1] by long lying and drying in the sunne'. 'The passengers sent on the *Expedition* last yeare was at the importunitie of the Customer and some merchants heere, in hope of producing profitt by that course, but having served theire turnes could never hitherto receive ought for fraight; and therfore, seeing you also are troubled with them, we shall henceforth forbeare except one better grounds.' Would be glad to send and receive patterns and samples of goods. As to the sale of the prize goods left at Jask, 'especially of that called by the name of Aglia, which we understand to bee lignum aloes[2], and was a fitt comodity for England.' The dates sent were not worth freight, and the lead taken out at Jask might have been sold to better advantage at Surat. Some now left in the ships for ballast, but they are not to meddle with it. The ships from England arrived on the 2nd October, and the *Lion* returned from Mokha on the 14th, after being fifty-four days at sea. Particulars sent of the cargo of the fleet, and of the portion intended for Persia. The Company have also directed that samples of coral, amber, and ivory should be supplied to Persia from Surat, but this appears to be unnecessary. English books, paper, and quills sent, but no ink, as all that came in the fleet was spilt. The sheet lead wrapped round the bales of cloth must be returned to Surat. They had hoped to supply them with pepper, spices, and ginger, as requested; but when, after waiting in vain for the expected supply from Bantam, they attempted to procure the requisite quantities in Burhānpur and Surat, the prices were found to be prohibitive. For the same reason no conserves are sent. As regards the Indian commodities asked for in their letter of May 4, 1618, the following are now forwarded: steel,

[1] This form is not given in the *Oxford Eng. Dict.*, though under 'bleak' (a form of 'bleach') we find an apt quotation from Cotgrave's *Dict.* (1611): '*haler*, to *bleak* or make swart a thing by displaying it in a hot sunne.'

[2] The Sanskrit name for aloes-wood was *agaru* or *aguru*, whence the Malayālam *akil* and the Port. *aguila*. This last was corrupted into *aquila*, and from the confusion arose the French *bois d'aigle* and Eng. *eagle-wood*. (See *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v.)

of three different sorts; white powdered sugar from Agra and sugar candy; various kinds of calico ('and whereas you require camnikeens, tricandees and dutties white, wee pray you to bee advertised that theire shortnes and dying gives the two former that name [*see* p. 95 *n.*], the camnikeen beeing made of baftaes and tricandee of duttie; the first therfore you may receive in the bafta invoyce and both the latter in the eramees' [*see* p. 62 *n.*]); shashes, 453 in all; cassia fistula ('a true drug and too slight a commoditie for marchants of our masters qualitie'; they will send no more unless it yields two for one profit); tamarinds, packed in gunny; 'saffron de la terra or zawchobe[1]'; cardamoms; sal-ammoniac; gum-lac; copper (as none could be got except at excessive rates, they have melted down ten maunds of pice); iron ('which, if a commoditie, you may have large supplie'); opium; five bales of Dholka dutties for merchandise, and a quantity of coarser for embaling their silk, with a supply of cords, gunny, cotton, &c., for the same purpose; and paper from Ahmadābād. Of Socotra aloes they have none to spare; and they have not sent indigo, 'conceiving an error in your advice.' 'Camphire, which you say is brought from India into Percia overland, we injoyned the Agra factory to provide; who, informing themselves concerning it, could not be ascertained of any such commoditie, and do affirme it is not there to be had.' They request the Persian factors to inform them which of the commodities now sent are 'the most staple', and then they will furnish them with good quantities. 'For southerne commodities our masters have also ordayned your supplie from Bantam; which this yeere you are nott to expect, by reason of the dissolution of that factorie and our contraverses with the Duch, which are come to such a height as without the uniting both companies will hardlie be reconciled; which though the Duch Company hath endeavoured, both by surprisall of our masters shipps abroad and sollicited at home, is nott yett concluded.' The enclosed letters will give them the particulars. As regards Persian commodities for sale in India, they desire first to receive samples for trial; but they do not expect great results, and they advise the Persian factors to turn their attention rather 'to give our masters satisfaction by returnes

[1] Not saffron but turmeric (Port. *açafrão da terra*). 'Zawchobe' is the Persian name, *zard-chūbah*.

for England', which will 'add reputation and give life to that trade'. In negotiating with the Shah, 'we wish you to be sparing of larger promises untill our masters may bee better assured of the benifitt that may arise thereby. In the interim you shall doe well to sollicite the King so to fortifie the fort [port ?] of Jasques that our shipps from southwards or other places may ride there single, free of the Portugalls danger. Or rayther it weare to bee wished that some more secure and convenient porte were found farther upp within the Gulfe; which we commend to your requirie and advice.' Three factors sent in this fleet for Persia, of whom Robert Jeffries is to rank next to Barker and Monnox, and John Purifie and John Benthall to be fourth and fifth respectively. If two factories have been established, Monnox is to be chief of the second, and Jeffries to be Barker's assistant at the first. Copies sent of the Company's instructions for the prevention of private trade. They urge the Persian factors to cease their quarrels, which have already given them a bad name. 'And nowe wee pray you farther to bee advertized that in regard our masters by way of caution have advertized us of six gallions and four carricks this yeere sett forth from Lisbone[1], and for that also it is heere reported that four or five of the said gallions ar gone to Ormuz with intent to surprize the single shipp the[y] expected wee would send, the import of your present supplie hath caused us to send the whole fleete unto you, which though it be verry prejudiciall to dispatch of the shipp intended for England, wee have thought raything necessarie to adventure one a late returne home then to hazard the safe deliverie of so greate a cavidall [*see* p. 115] as this nowe sent you; verry instantly requesting and requiring you to use all possible dilligence to theire speediest dispatch, having by commission (though wee hope you will nott so long detayne him) lymited the commander 15 dayes stay there, or 20 at uttmost.' They hope it will be found possible to lade the ships in ten days, as considerable time has been lost already here through delays in the custom-house, and it is important to dispatch the ship for England at an early date. They had intended to send them some myrrh and coffee received from Mokha, but upon reconsideration have kept them back, 'the first being verry

[1] This was the fleet dispatched from Portugal in the spring of 1619 under Ruy Freire de Andrade.

vendable in England, and latter worth more heere in Suratt then your advice valueth it there.' They forward a packet of letters for the Company, and request its transmission overland. *P.S.* (*written at Swally, November* 6).—It has taken a week to clear all the goods. The copper they have been forced to send 'in pices, in regard of a prohibition nott to melt any'. A minister[1] come in this fleet is sent to be resident with them. He has had some differences with Jeffries, and they may return him if they think proper. (*Copy, made in Persia and sent overland. Endorsed as received in London September* 25, 1620. 9 *pp.*)

HENRY CROSBY'S JOURNAL OF THE VOYAGE OF THE *CHARLES* FROM SURAT TO JASK AND BACK (*Marine Records*, vol. xxix. pp. 9–12).

Sailed from Swally November 7, 1619. Anchored at Jask December 3. Left again December 18, and reached Swally January 13, 1620.[2] (3 *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT BROACH, NOVEMBER 7 AND 15, 1619 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2122, *f.* 175).

In answer to their letter of the 3rd. The goods for Persia were cleared on that date, laden on the 5th, and this morning the fleet set sail. '[We] are glad your marketts are quicke.' To buy as many broad baftas as possible; also coloured cloths. Everything should be in readiness 'at Swally sands by the 15th or 20th February att farthest'. *P.S.* (15th).—The dispatch of the letter has been delayed 'through occacion of a brawle twixt this dogge Isacke Beage and us, who accordinge to his custome sett watch on our houses and by proclamacion debard us of victualls and suffered none to come or go, and even to this day debarreth our sarvantes'. They forward a petition on the subject for presentation to 'Hemett Chan'. (*Copy. Damaged.* 2 *pp.*)

[1] The Rev. Matthew Cardro.

[2] The journal goes on to narrate the sailing of the fleet for Sumatra and Java on March 16, 1620, visiting Dābhol on the way.

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, GILES JAMES, ROBERT YOUNG, EDWARD HOWE, AND WALTER HARVEY TO THE CAPTAIN OF SURAT CASTLE[1] (*Ibid.*, *f.* 176).

Complain of the assault made upon the English, and request the withdrawal of the guard placed upon them. They demand liberty to depart, with their goods and money. If this be refused, they will not stay to be starved, but will use force, 'wherein whatt blud of ours shall [be shed you] may bee well assured will be reven[ged].' (*Copy. Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

THE SAME [TO THE SAME][2] (*Ibid.*, *f.* 177).

They have received his letter, but cannot credit it without his 'firme[3]', nor be satisfied with his promise of safe coming and going so long as the guard is maintained; 'which if you withdrawe and restore us the King[es and] Princes libertie [by] a publicke pregone[4] w[hich hur]tts our creditts, wee [will] come to the ketch[e]ry[5] [in] expectacion of libertie to departe the time [promi]sed.' (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO WILLIAM BIDDULPH, &C., AT AGRA, NOVEMBER 16 AND 18, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 179).

Dispatch of the fleet for Persia. Just before their departure the Governor came to Swally and desired that two of the ships might be detained. On this being refused he was angry, and threatened to be revenged. Soon after some of the young factors returning home late were set upon by a number of the Governor's 'pions[6]', who wounded Hutchinson, Lancaster, and some others, beat 'a poore cassett[7]', and later on shot five times into the door of the house. 'Ours lett fly a small peece laden with fowlinge [shot],' and wounded one of the assailants in the neck. The following day the injured man was carried to the Governor, and a report was spread that he was dead; whereupon Is-hāq Beg summoned Kerridge to

[1] 'Merza Jam̃ Kullee Beage' [Mīrzā Jam Qulī Beg]. The letter is undated, but evidently belongs to about November 10–15.

[2] Undated. [3] Signature (Ital. *firma*). [4] Port. *pregão*, 'a proclamation.'

[5] Cutcherry (Hind. *kachahrī*), the place where public business was transacted.

[6] Footmen, messengers, or (as here) servants (Port. *peão*, 'a footman').

[7] Courier or messenger (Arabic *qāsid*).

answer for what had been done. On his refusal to go without a pledge of safety the Governor was very angry, and forbade the supply of meat and drink to the English, and imprisoned their servants. A conference was at last arranged, where, upon Kerridge 'speakinge the truth freely [ ], hee grewe in rage, called mee [ ] Bucta betti chud[1]', and used many threats. No conclusion was come to, and the embargo is still in force, 'which wee suffer with the more pacience for that, as wee heare, a new Governor is allready att Brodera and will very shortly arrive.' They really think that if 'assurance of safetie, better usage, and liberty of trade' be denied, 'not only this place must bee left, butt the whole cuntry.' They send a petition to be presented to the Prince, and also two for Āsaf Khān[2] and Afzal Khān respectively. 'Farther wee pray you playnly [to ad]virtise them of the five Denmarke shippes [and] three other French, some of which wee veryly beleeve may robe there shippes in the Red Sea next yeare; which havinge declared to these, they playnly say wee shall satisfie all there damages, whosoever comitteth them, which are to [tick]lish poyntes for any longe residence.' They refer to various matters in his recent letters. They hope to remit him some money soon, but meanwhile he may draw on them for 20,000 or 30,000 rupees, if he can get reasonable terms. At Surat the present rate of exchange is 41½ rupees 'hundees' [*see* p. 85 *n.*] per 100 mahmūdīs, and five mahmūdīs are worth one rial. The exchange to Ahmadābād is usually 2½ per cent. more in value than that to Agra. *P.S.*—The dispatch of their letter was delayed. Difficulty in remitting money causes them to advise him to use his best endeavours to get in all moneys due, 'which [we] pray imploy in linnins and silke accordinge [to] our masters advice.' (*Copy. Much damaged.* 5 *pp.*)

PETITION OF THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, GILES JAMES, JOSEPH SALBANK, ROBERT YOUNG, EDWARD HEYNES, EDWARD HOWE, AND WALTER HARVEY TO [THE PRINCE SHĀH JAHĀN] (*Ibid.*, *f.* 177).[3]

Humbly represent their grievances: the refusal to allow them to buy goods for the Red Sea: the abuses daily offered to them owing

[1] *Bachcha betī-chod*—a piece of abuse too gross for translation.

[2] Not extant. The other two are given below.

[3] Undated.

to the 'pride and malice' of Mīrzā Is-hāq Beg, Governor of Surat: and their ejection from their former dwelling-house, to their great inconvenience. The Governor's hard dealings have induced them to send their fleet to Jask instead of letting it lie at Swally for some months; whereat he being displeased, 'doth secretly intend us mischeefe. [The] night past, some of our young men returning [home?] from some of our houses, weare beaten and [? wound]ed by his sarvantes, and the dore of our ware[house] a gree [1] after was assalted by the sarvants [of] the said Isacke Beage with gunnes, which they [? sho]tte into the doore of the said house and wounded three other of our peeple, of whome one was shott in the heade with a bullett, and both the others so hurte as is doubtfull wheather they may live or dye; whereuppon our people, fearinge they were sett uppon to be mur[dered], discharged a small peece with birding shott, [which wounded?] one of the gunners and ceased the quar[rel. The] next morninge the Governor sent for us to [his] howse to answere the [facte?], where, fearinge [some?] farther intended mischeefe to our persons, wee [re]fused to goe, desiringe a pleadg for the saphe[tie] of our lives.' This he not only refused, but presently proclaimed by sound of drum that none should furnish the English with any kind of sustenance, and he further beat and imprisoned their servants. [*Part indecipherable.*] Unless His Highness, to whom their 'brother', Mr. Biddulph, will represent the facts, condescends to assist them, they will be forced to retire to their own country. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 3 *pp.*)

THE SAME TO AFZAL KHĀN, THE PRINCE'S DĪWĀN [2] (*Ibid.*, *f.* 178).

For three years they have suffered injuries at the hands of the Governor, Mīrzā Is-hāq Beg, 'who allso, beeinge the greatest [merchan]t of this place, doth laboure to depresse [? all oth]ers for

[1] Hind. *gharī*, a clepsydra or water-clock, and hence the interval of time (about 24 minutes) indicated by the clock. 'They distinguish their time in a much different manner from us, dividing the day into four, and the night into as many parts, which they call Pores [Hind. *pahr*]; which again they subdivide each of them into eight parts, which they call Grees, measured, according to the ancient custom, by water dropping out of one vessel into another' (Terry's *Voyage to East-India*, ed. 1777, p. 230).

[2] Undated.

increase of his owne gayne, without any regard to the Princes service or benifitt.' Thus he has prevented men selling goods to them, and at the same time has prohibited the English from importing certain commodities, though the Prince's customs revenue suffers in both cases; he forces them under pain of his displeasure to sell him their goods at his own price, and then pays at his pleasure; he does them no justice, and his servants continually insult and abuse them. They beg Afzal Khān's assistance in representing the matter to the Prince, and obtaining redress. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 1½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO WILLIAM MARTIN, &C., AT BROACH, NOVEMBER 20, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 181).

Understands from his letter his Governor's 'apprehencion of our wronges, which att Jamshead Beages arrivall thether, who in [is?] cominge heather to bee cheife in this goverment, wee expect he will acquaynt him with yt'. Supply of money for investment. He should take care that the dutties be as strong as can be got. (*Copy. Rest indecipherable.* 1 *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL TO JOHN BROWNE, &C., AT AHMADĀBĀD, NOVEMBER 22, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 182).

The fleet sailed for Jask on the 7th. The Governor, being afraid of an attack from some 'Mallabars', tried to induce them to retain part in the port, but they refused; 'which taking [in ev]yll parte, the dogg miscalled and th[r]eatned us [as] accustomed.' Soon after, some of their young men, returning home 'att [an] unlawfull howre', escorted by 'the returned Mocha merchants', were encountered and assaulted by a number of Is-hāq Beg's peons and others, who also attacked the English warehouse, and only retreated after the discharge from within of some 'hayle shott'. The consequent dispute with the Governor, and proclamation isolating the English factory. A conference subsequently arranged, whereat the Governor expected their complete submission; and being disappointed, 'abused mee basely in languadge, vowinge then there to cutt presently my throate, and for feare called all his ragged route together, as if [either he] feared revenge or intended mischeife.'

The Captain of the Castle, who had 'engaged his promise for our saphetie', rebuked the Governor, and there was a dispute between them. The Dutch redeemed one of the imprisoned servants of the English for 120 [mahmūdīs?]. [The Governor] has now left the town. They fear the depredations of the Danes and others will be revenged on them; and they would be glad of the opinion of the Ahmadābād factors as to the desirability of dissolving the trade if better conditions cannot be obtained. Remittance of money to Ahmadābād. They have no 'toyes' to give his Governor, as by the Company's orders all that came in the fleet were sent to Persia; in any case they would have assuredly been stopped by the Prince's officers 'for there master sight; which this yeare will [? har]dly (as hearetofore) procure them musserads' [*see* p. 126]. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 5¾ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO WILLIAM BIDDULPH, &C., AT AGRA, NOVEMBER 22, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 185).

Adjustment of accounts with Ahmadābād. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO WILLIAM MARTIN, &C., AT BROACH, NOVEMBER [22?], 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 185).

Have received his letter enclosing some from the Governor of Broach, 'which will serve to [no] purpose, yett as occacion is offered shall bee delivered.' He may be able to do something for them on Jamshed Beg's arrival. They hope to send him 20,000 mahmūdīs soon. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO THE SAME, NOVEMBER 23, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 185).

Advise the dispatch of the 20,000 mahmūdīs under the escort of several Englishmen. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO THE SAME, NOVEMBER 25, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 186).

In answer to his letter. (*Copy. Much damaged.* ¼ *p.*)

PETITION OF THE ENGLISH AT SURAT TO [JAMSHED] BEG, APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF SURAT, NOVEMBER 30, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 186).

Set forth their grievances. 'Seven years past [1], when this cittie was under the goverment of Chilege Chan [2], wee weare by Sheeke Isaph [3], Divon [4] of Amad[avas], Mirja Fursola [5], Governor of Suratt, Choja Hasanaly [6], Shabandar [7], and sundry [other] merchantes importuned to leave our people [ ] in this place for a perpetuall free [trade and ?] comerce; which uppon certayne [? articles int]erchangeably passed and signed [by the sa]id Divon, Governor and merchantes, [? as also by our] Cheife Comander and merchantes [ ] was concluded and the same [? approved by] the Great Kinges firmaen.' This has since been many times confirmed, yet notwithstanding they have suffered intolerable abuses from former governors, especially from Zūlfaqār Khān and Is-hāq Beg. The latter has always been their enemy, and did them much mischief, even in the government of Ibrāhīm Khān, 'who was a juste man and willingely did us favor.' The latter being 'called to the derbarre, Jamall Chan succeeded, that allso was a peaceable and good man, butt [in] regarde of the conjuncion twixt Isacke Beage and the rest of merchantes in oposinge us, had nott power to releeve us. In the intrim [of] whose goverment our enemies and the enemies of our diceased landlord Choga Arab by falce suggestions procured a comaund for our expulcion from our dwellinge house and the same to bee confiscated; which uppon the intercession of the English Embassador and Choja Arrabes frinds was by the Prince his comaund restored to his sonne, and wee allso confirmed therein untill our [lease expired ?] and referred unto the will of the owner for fu[rther re]sidence. Aboute which time Jamall Chan beeinge [called to court ?], the goverment fell to Isake Beage.' The latter at once procured their expulsion from their house without providing them with a new one, thus causing them great

[1] The reference is of course to Capt. Best's negotiations with the native authorities for the establishment of a factory.

[2] Qulich Khān, Sūbadār of Gujarāt, on whom see a note in Blochmann's *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, vol. i. p. 34. Hawkins mentions 'Kelich Chan' as a mansabdār of 9,000 horse.

[3] Shaikh Yūsuf.

[4] *Dīwān.*

[5] Perhaps Mīrzā Faiz-ullah.

[6] Khwāja Hasan Alī.

[7] *Shāh-bandar*, 'harbour-master.'

loss and inconvenience. Abuses in the custom-house. Prohibition of their Red Sea trade, and of their bringing in coral. His restriction of their purchases in the neighbouring towns, to the detriment of the Prince's customs. Their servants are whipt and they themselves affronted by every base peon. Is-hāq Beg recently asserted that 'the principall of us was his sarvante, called him Seg muder bu[c]ta [1], thatt hee would cutt his throate, and such like base termes, which wee both deny [and] dispise, beeinge the subjects and servants [of] a forreygne prince, that will have satisfacion for the meanest of our lives'. Finally, Is-hāq Beg has declared that they shall make satisfaction for any attack by other nations on the Prince's ship; to this they will never consent. Having now made known their grievances they hope for relief, failing which they must retire from the country. (*Copy. Damaged.* 3½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO JOHN YOUNG AT [ ], DECEMBER 2, 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 188).

Forwards certain parwānas. (*Copy. Rest illegible.* ½ *p.*)

THE SAME TO WILLIAM MARTIN, &c., AT BROACH, DECEMBER [2?], 1619 (*Ibid., f.* 188).

Perceives the Governor of Broach has recommended their better usage. Money for Broach and Ahmadābād. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

MATTHEW DUKE AT MASULIPATAM TO THE COMPANY, DECEMBER 4, 1619 (*O. C.* 824).

Forwards copies of the accounts kept by him at Petapoli. The *Clove* arrived there October 1, and was dispatched for Masulipatam again on the 14th. Duke reached that town the following day. Sends letters and a present to his kinsman, Richard Hobbe, and begs they may be delivered. (*Holograph. Endorsed* 'Receaved by the Duitch *White Beare*, 1 January, 1620[21]'. 1½ *pp.*)

[1] *Sag-māda bachcha*, 'son of a bitch.'

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO WILLIAM MARTIN, &C., AT BROACH, DECEMBER 6, 1619 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2122, *f.* 188).

They intend to take advantage of the Governor of Broach's visit to Ahmadābād to send a dozen chests of rials thither under his protection. Kerridge hopes to be at Broach shortly to arrange matters. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

WILLIAM METHWOLD ABOARD THE 'UNICORN' IN MASULIPATAM ROAD TO THE COMPANY, DECEMBER 7, 1619 (*O. C.* 825).

Since his previous letters they have proceeded in the 'beaten path of trade', and invested all their capital. On July 10 two Englishmen reached Masulipatam from 'Narapoley' [*see* p. 110], with letters from Captain Pring, Augustine Spalding, and George Ball, announcing their arrival on the coast with four ships and requesting his presence. He thereupon embarked in a country boat, taking with him such provisions as he could procure, and reached the ships on July 13. Finding them in much need of stores, and having been supplied with 10,000 rials for that purpose, he returned by land in company with Spalding, Ball, and Harris, reaching Masulipatam the very day that Sir Thomas Dale's fleet came to an anchor in the road. 'Before the wind and tide would give mee leave to repaire abourd, Sir Thomas Dale advised his extremety of sicknesse and desired to have some place convenient for his entertainment on shoare; which beeing formerly considered, made us better prepared. So the next day I went and brought him on shoare to your howse, from whence after twenty dayes of languishing sicknesse, after maney testemoneys of good Christianety, contempt of death, and singular zeale and affection towards your service, dying, wee were forced to carry him to his last possession, which (per consent) I have ordered to bee enclosed and howsed in forme of a toombe, which is allmost finished.' Meanwhile the factors did their best to provide the ships with provisions and stores. Goats and sheep ('comonly ten per pagode [1], now at last but eight or nine'), as well as hogs, were supplied, but the seamen showed little gratitude to the merchants for their efforts. The seizure of Chinese junks at Bantam gave occasion to a disgraceful

[1] The pagoda was worth at this time about 7*s.* 6*d.*

amount of pilfering, and the Company got little in comparison with their servants. 'They have stolne without proportion, sould without consideration, and spent without discretion; and in all these behaved themselves so like barbarous outlaws that I feare our nation, formerly well reputed of, will suffer a perpetuall scandall for their most intollerable misdemeanours. . . . Their private whorings, drunkennesse and such like ryotts have onely prejudiced their owne soules and bodyes and given no further offence; but their night walkes in armed troupes, when neyther private person nor publicke officer could meet and passe them without blowes or wounds, theyr breaking open whorehowses and rackehowses in the dead of night and despight of the owners, have burdened the eares of their cheife commaunder with complaints, and hardened the hearts of the inhabitants against our very names.' Large numbers have deserted, but many of them have been recaptured. Methwold exonerates Capt. Pring from blame, as he has done his best to restrain these excesses [1]. As regards private trade, 'that which was so accompted formerly is now publick,' and every one from commander to mariner trades as freely as he pleases. Bad effect of this on the Company's sales and purchases. 'I exempt not myselfe in this generall usurped liberty;' but he did nothing of the kind before the fleet's arrival, and has refrained from selling 'commodetyes of the country' to any one. Negligence of the pursers in the work of provisioning the fleet. 'I am in good hope after some small time to furnish you with good quantetyes of that sort of Bengala silke which Laurance Waldo first, and Robert Young after, shewed you musters of in England. The President from Surratt advised first of your desire theareof, unto whome I returned musters of such as was then heere to bee had, which hee againe returned with other musters approoving mine sent to bee the sort required, but somewhat fowler and shorter skeynes then fitts the markett in England. For the price it jumpes with your desire, beeing about 15 or 16 pag[odes] per maen, and that about 26 lbs. English, will come to bee about 5 sh[illings] per lb.

[1] Pring was equally emphatic in his condemnation of the conduct of 'this irregular and almost incorrigible scumme of rascals whome the land hath ejected for theyr wicked lives and ungodly behaviour. Our misery is that wee often see the proverbe fulfilled, which is: Yf they bee good for nothing, send them to the East Indies' (*O. C.* 784).

Which per the junkes from Bengala I hope yearely to compasse, and will per these now expected in December attempt a begining. Your first debt and later adventure (yf not servants) at Pegu [*see* p. 43] I accompt desperate. A junke from thence arrived heere in Aprill last past, without letters or further newes then what I could enquire of passengers, which was that they lived, had sould their goods, had their howse burnt, and were comming away in the shippe belonging to this King, but the Tyrant of Pegu, incensed against one of his cheife nobles, executed him and diverse others, and persisting thus disturbed, none durst moove him for licence to depart untill the monsoone was lost. And from this opinion this adventure is borne to losse and cleared uppon the last joint stocke; yet yf aney thing shall proceede thearof, a just accompt shall bee given to the propriators.' Other remains of the old stock have been turned over to the new at cost price. Quicksilver and vermilion are worth no more than in England; and they have not much else. Their debts are all good, 'and in that particular and accompt of presents, no factory in India hath beene so fortunate and thrifty.' Goods and money received from Augustine Spalding to the value of 55,960 rials 53⅝*d*., of which particulars will be sent by way of Surat. (*Holograph. Endorsed* 'Receaved the 1st January, 1620[21], by the Duitch *White Beare*'. 4 *pp*.)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO WILLIAM BIDDULPH, &C., AT AGRA, DECEMBER [8?], 1619 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2122, *f.* 189).

Have not yet made use of 'the Nabob Chan Chanas perwans concerning restitucion of the indicoe', as they have not been able to spare a factor for the purpose. [*Part illegible.*] They do not hear of any preparations on the part of the Portuguese. A new Viceroy has been established.[1] Only three ships have arrived at Goa from Lisbon; but whether the rest have gone to Ormus, or are detained at Mozambique for want of wind, they cannot learn. The cargo list will show that nearly all the rareties have gone to Persia; but Āsaf Khān may have a rich cabinet and three pairs of gloves. The

[1] The Conde de Redondo (see p. 31) died Nov. 10, 1619 (N.S.), and Fernão de Albuquerque took up the reins of administration as Governor, pending the appointment of a Viceroy from home.

new Governor's attitude towards them is still doubtful. They will send broadcloth and kerseys to Agra; the other goods asked for have gone to Persia. The pearl will be forwarded secretly for [sale to?] Āsaf Khān. Purchase of spikenard requested. They are doubtful as to silk. [*Part illegible.*] They forward bills for [25,730] rupees, representing 60,000 mahmūdīs at 41½ per 100, 'a very low exchange.' *P.S.*—Mrs. Towerson [*see* p. 168] may be allowed 200 rupees for this year to supply her necessities, but 'seeinge shee stayeth behind hir husband, not much to his likinge, [and] that he hath not given warrant to releeve hir, it is in his choyce whether he will repay itt or no, notwithstandinge hir bill.' It is doubtful whether the Company will allow him to return, or whether he will remit enough to pay his wife's debts; and if this be so and she remains in India, it is not likely their employers will spend money on her. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 2½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO JOHN BROWNE, &C., AT AHMADĀBĀD, DECEMBER 9, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 191).

Their troubles have been mitigated by the arrival of the new Governor 'and wee restored to our former liberty; besides wee have many fayre promises, butt no further accion'. They send bills for 16,800 rupees, 'to 16,000 whereof wee have all the company of sheraffes and some merchantes bound for the performance.' In addition, yesterday twelve chests containing 48,000 rials were dispatched to them under the charge of Edward Heynes and a number of other Englishmen. From Broach they will proceed in the company of the Governor of that town, who is about to visit Ahmadābād. Have made remittances to Agra, part by way of Ahmadābād and part by Burhānpur. Request information as to the rate of exchange from Ahmadābād to Agra. 'Wee have sould to the Prince his offecers rials 50,000 att 5 m[ahmūdīs] 1½ p[ice] the rial best stampe, the coorser att 2 p[ice] lesse.' (*Copy. Much damaged.* 1¾ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO WILLIAM MARTIN, &C., AT BROACH, DECEMBER 9, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 192).

Advise dispatch of money. Kerridge's departure has been postponed. (*Copy. Much damaged.* ½ *p.*)

Augustine Spalding aboard the 'Unicorn' in Masulipatam Road to the Company, November 23 and December 9, 1619 (*O.C.* 826).

Narrates the course of events since the *Lesser James* sailed from 'Poola-besee[1]' for England on March 29, 1619. Departure of Jourdain from Bantam Road on April 13 with the *Sampson* and *Hound* for Jambi, Patani, &c. Seizure of three junks newly arrived from China in satisfaction of debts owing by Chinese at Bantam. Great pillage by the sailors. On the voyage from Bantam to 'Moroh[2]' they met a pinnace, the *Dragon's Claw*, bringing news from Surat and letters from Capt. Bonner and Richard Fursland, who had gone to Achin with the *Dragon* and *Expedition*. 'They were att Callicutt to recover Your Worships debts there and to have bought some pepper, as the Kinge of that place promised them, but they were by him deluded by words onely, and soe they came awaye without gettinge aney thinge.' Bodman, the chief actor in the burning of the *Black Lion*, hanged at the yard-arm. The remains of the China silks are valued at 76,686 rials of eight; but almost every basket and hamper had been broken open by the sailors, who also stole one half of the porcelain. 'I thinke worser theeves lives not in Newgate then most of the men in this fleete.' He blames Sir Thomas Dale for his indulgence towards them. The *Rose* sent to Achin with advices. On May 30, in sight of 'Angania', the fleets parted company. Pring, with the *James Royal*, *Gift*, *Unicorn*, and *Bee*, sailed for Masulipatam; while Dale, with the *Moon*, *Clove*, *Globe*, *Peppercorn*, *Advice*, and *Dragon's Claw*, stayed at Engano to get what they could from the wreck of the *Sun*.[3] A little of Dale's plate was recovered; but 'he founde not one Englishman alive, but some 16 or 18 of there sculls lyeinge in a heape neere together. Sir Thomas there killed two of there people, burned and cutt downe parte of there howses and trees and soe lefte the place.' Great mortality in the fleet. About eighty men

[1] The island in the Sunda Straits now called Sebesi, between the islands of Krakatau and Seboekoe.

[2] A headland and road on the southern side of Sumatra, not far from the entrance to the Straits of Sunda (see *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. i. p. 451). Pring's account of the voyage will be found at p. 637 of that volume.

[3] See note on p. 110. For the consultation at which this disposal of the ships was agreed upon, see *O. C.* 801.

died between Engano and Masulipatam, including Peter Bowers, the vice-admiral, Nicholas Ufflett, and three other merchants, and two of the masters. Dale himself, on his arrival at Masulipatam (July 19), was very sick, and shortly afterwards 'departed this life in peace'. Pring with his ships reached the coast on June 30, but was carried to leeward of this port. He had lost about thirty men, and many have since died, 'insoemuch that we are fayne to hire here some 120 or 130 blacks to sayle in' the fleet. The *Advice* worn out and laid up. Pring's ships first anchored at 'Narrapoolye', but afterwards shifted to the Bay of 'Vengaroone' a little farther to leeward. It was September 6 or 7 before they could get up to Masulipatam. [Richard] Harris drowned by the upsetting of a boat. His loss will be much felt in the keeping of the accounts, as there is 'never a merchant in the fleete able to perfourme itt'. Leave obtained from the Governor of Masulipatam to build a slight house at the Bar to land the China porcelain, in order to sort and 'perfect that cargazone'; but he has since much obstructed their business. They had intended to send the *Unicorn* to Surat with the goods formerly provided at Bantam for that port, besides porcelain and silks for England; but, as they hear nothing of an agreement with the Dutch, they must needs carry the goods back again, as the lateness of the season and the foulness of the weather upon the bar will prevent their unlading at Masulipatam. The *Peppercorn* met near Engano a Dutch ship, the *Oranje-Boom*, commanded by Captain Hart, who told them that 'the two Companies were accorded', and delivered a letter written from the Cape by Thomas Barwick,[1] stating that Dutch delegates had arrived in England before his departure to conclude an agreement. They were hopeful, therefore, to hear shortly that matters had been accommodated; but the Dutch factors here state that 'there is noe accorde'; that the *Star* has been captured by three Dutch ships after a six hours' fight; and that Coen has sent three of his best vessels in pursuit of Jourdain. They trust he will escape and meet at the appointed rendezvous (Priaman). 'In my oppinion this fleete will not be able to perfourme anie great fights (consideringe the burthen of the shipps) for want of men and good munition, as powder, shott, &c.' 'The Duch in these partes are growne soe

[1] Cf. *The Embassy of Sir T. Roe*, p. 518.

insolent that there is little hope to be had of anie agreement where there strength shall exceede, for they doe ayme to be sole masters of the whole Indias.' No doubt at home they are 'verie desembling flatterers', but the arrival of the *Lesser James* will have furnished the Company with full particulars of 'there mischevous and subtle dealings'. Capt. Pring has succeeded to the command of the whole fleet, but is unable to keep his men in order. Constant complaints made by the officers of want of provisions, yet all the time much waste is going on. 'In fyne, everie thinge goeth as itt were agaynst the heare[1].' Private trade was never more commonly used, and cannot be prevented in these troublous times. The cargo shipped from hence this year amounts to 9,458 'pagodes', or 15,764 rials of eight[2], and the stock left at Masulipatam in money and goods to 62,964 rials. [*Added Dec.* 9.] The fleet has now been well provisioned, though casks and ship's stores are scarce. They have landed the Bantam goods formerly provided for Surat, and also the cargo brought by the *Lesser James* from Siam and Patani. (*Signed copy. Endorsed* 'Receaved 1 January, 1620[21], by the Duitch *White Beare*'. 9 *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO WILLIAM METHWOLD, &C., AT MASULIPATAM, DECEMBER 10, 1619 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2122, *f.* 192).

Refer to previous letters. Cannot supply them with goods from the fleet, as these are all allotted to particular places by the Company, except the lead, which is not wanted at Masulipatam. Only one pearl came, and that, being fair, will sell best at the Mogul's court. 'Those that came formerly ar small, and yett remayne on our hands.' Twenty-nine chests of unpolished coral received, but the merchants objected to its sale, and prevented 'the exportinge of callicoes'. The coral has, therefore, been housed at 'Raneale' till the Prince's pleasure is known. If he orders its reshipment, it must be sold at Dābhol or Masulipatam. Purchase of silk and indigo. [*Part illegible.*] 'Our troubles [ ] have no end nor mittigacion, but are dayly multiplied with the increase of our masters estates,

[1] Or, as we now say, 'against the grain.' Cf. *Merry Wives of Windsor*, ii. 3: 'If you should fight, you go against the hair of your professions.'

[2] The rial seems to be taken at 4*s.* 6*d.* and the pagoda at 7*s.* 6*d.*

whereby the inhabitantes secured, both offecers and merchantes growe insolent, and prohibitt our buyinge of all lynnen comodities butt in Barroch. Wee thanke you for advice of Captain Bonnars Ekeree progresse [*see* p. 56]; some of us conceaved itt allwayes a tricke to affright or give more edge to the Portingalls.' Comments on the war with the Dutch, capture of the *Black Lion*, &c. They are anxious to hear news of the English shipping. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 4 *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO THE SAME, DECEMBER 10, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 194).

'By a letter receaved in your last packett [from Signor] George Griger[1], a Jarman, wee have [intelligen]ce of his residence in your cittie of Messelpat[nam], [who this last] yeare receaved certayne injuncions and letters from Sir Thomas Roe unto the Viceroy of Goa conserninge [a] treaty of peace twixt our nacion and the Portingall in India, whereof though the successe answered not expectacion, itt no way extenuates the good will of him that indeavoured itt.' Requests, therefore, that every courtesy be shown to Griger. (*Copy. Much damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THE SAME TO GEORGE GRIGER AT MASULIPATAM, DECEMBER 10, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 194).

In answer to his letter, informs him of the departure of Roe for England. Thanks him for what he has done, and sends a letter of recommendation which may be useful to him. (*Copy. In Portuguese. Much damaged.* 1½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO ALL ENGLISH CHIEFS, DECEMBER [10], 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 195).

Recommends to their favour and assistance 'Signor George Griger, [a nat]ive of Austria in Germany', recently employed by Sir Thomas Roe in negotiations at Goa. (*Copy. Much damaged.* ½ *p.*)

[1] Nothing is known of him or his mission from Roe, beyond what is stated in these documents.

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO WILLIAM BIDDULPH AT THE COURT, DECEMBER 12, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 195).

They can do little to help Āsaf Khān's agent in the matter of curiosities for his master, as practically everything of that nature has gone to Persia. Another time Biddulph should wait to see the cargo list before consenting to the dispatch of a servant on such an errand. They have written a letter to Āsaf Khān on the subject. (*Copy. Much damaged. Part illegible.* 1¼ *pp.*)

[THOMAS KERRIDGE] AT BROACH TO THOMAS RASTELL AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT, DECEMBER 13, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 197).

The Englishmen convoying the money for Ahmadābād have safely arrived, and will finish their journey under the protection of the Governor of Broach. Requests some Bulgary hides and a few knives to present to the latter. (*Copy. Much damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THOMAS RASTELL AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO THOMAS KERRIDGE AT BROACH, DECEMBER 15, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 196).

In answer to his letter of the 13th. Presents sent for the Governor of Broach, as desired. The Agra caravan has arrived, and the goods have been warehoused at the custom-house. 'Yesterday all the chieffes and marchants being togeather assembled, we weare sent for to the Governors to cut price of our clothes for the Princes sercarr [1], but concluded nothing, they presuming [on] the last yeares prices and we on the contrarie constant to raise its former reputation off m[ahmūdīs] 25 and 20 and 18 the three sorts per covad. They prest us muche to beate downe the price; when, wearyed with thear importunitie to like purpose, we askt licence and weare dismissed without other determinacion.' (*Copy. Much damaged.* 1 *p.*)

FRANCIS FETTIPLACE, ROBERT HUGHES, AND JOHN PARKER AT AGRA TO THE COMPANY, DECEMBER 15, 1619 (*O. C.* 827).

In answer to the Company's letter of February 15, 1619, they regret that the 'samanaes' sent home in the *Bull* did not give satisfaction, but plead that they were obliged to buy them hurriedly

[1] i.e. the broadcloths purchased for the use of the Prince. On the many meanings of 'sircar' (*sarkār*) see *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Here and elsewhere in these extracts it is used almost in the sense of the 'privy purse' of modern times.

in three or four days. They deny that they were badly packed. The desired quantity of spikenard will be provided; also pintado quilts and 'chints'. 'Carpetts of such length and breadth as Your Worships desire them we shall hardly ever be able to procure; for of such sizes we find very few ready made, and we perceave, by experience of a few bespoken here, that the tardines, slownes and poverty of the workemen to be such that it is endles labour to bespeake them, and those bespoken to cost dearer then others ready made. Of th' ordinary syzes here made we have sent you of all sorts this yeare, and a good quantety, as herafter you will perceave; and of other syzes then these you may never expect them, unles we can perswade the woorkemen of themselves to make them broader; which we will endeavour.' Of indigo they will send but little, as ordered. They will provide a small quantity of gum-lac for dyeing, which they conceive will be found profitable in England; also some for Persia, where it is in great demand. As regards Bengala silk, of which the Company desired great store, 'soe that it might be had in longe skeins, and at or under 7*s.* the pound,' they will get as much as they can, and send what information they can collect respecting the various sorts available. They have written to Surat for such of the goods brought by Bickley's fleet as are vendible at Agra. In February last they dispatched a caravan to Surat under the charge of John Bangham; on the way it was arrested at the suit of Francisco Soares, and was only released after much trouble and expense. A second caravan was sent under John Young's charge about the beginning of September. The 'samanaes' cost from 2½ to 4½ rupees per piece, and will, they hope, give satisfaction; but they explain that these cannot be so well sorted as the Broach cloths are, because whereas the latter are bought piece by piece, the former are only obtainable in parcels of fifty, a hundred, or two hundred pieces of varying qualities. They have been packed with cotton wool in 'duttyes', a cere-cloth, a hair-cloth, and then 'stronge gunnee or course canvas'.[1] 'The narrow cloth called amberte callicoes[2] . . . is stronge, close-made and well conditioned, and hath

[1] 'That kind of duttie is as thin as boulter [cloth used for sifting meal]; twice so much cotton wooll were not inough' (*Marginal note made at home*).

[2] We hear much of these in later letters from Patna. The name may possibly be connected with Hind. *amrita*, 'ambrosia.'

noe fault but the narrownes; and we doubt not but willbee very vendible, if not in England, yet to bee transported for Barbary, beinge soe lyke the Polonia cloth usually sent thether.' They are bought in parcels like the 'samanaes'. Some of the 'ambertes' they have dyed carnation, and they intend this next year 'to dye more of this kind, and into watchets [*see* p. 51 *n*.] also; for we think the best dyes are made in Agra'. The total value of goods forwarded for shipment to England during the past year is about 59,000 rupees; and in addition they have sent to Surat goods for Persia costing about 7,200 rupees. 'Aboute the beginninge of March last the Kinge, after a five or sixe years progresse, retorned to Agra, whose cominge hether was a meanes for us to put of our broad cloth last yeare remayninge, being about fifty pieces.' 'About two monthes after the Kings setlinge here, came hether William Biddulph from Suratt, whome . . . it pleazed His Lordship with the President and Councell in Suratt to dispeed to the Court with such presents and fine goodes as came in Captain Bonners fleete, as also for the recovery of such debts as are yet standinge forth, belonginge to the first joint stock.' As regards the disposal of these goods, 'all the nine sutes of tapestry sent us up the Prince bought, and shared them, part to his father, part to his mother, and part of them he kept himself; the price wherof, himself beinge in presence, was made at adventure, for his greatnes permitted us not leave or tyme to make price therof as we would have done, or as ma[r]chants usually doe amongst themselves, but caused us to bringe before him four peeces, which we did (and those of the best), to say, two peeces of that sort which cost 25*s*. the ell, and two peeces of that sort which cost 20*s*. the ell; which havinge looked over, he caused one of his servants, whome he thought most skilfull, to make price of them; which he did and told his master that the best were worth 25 rup[ees] per covado and the second 20; at which prices he wondred, but bid us either sell them him soe or els take them backe (this beinge the manner of sellinge goods to the great ones of this country). Soe that, not knowinge where to find a better markett for them, and assuringe ourselves that if the Kinge and Prince refused them, they would not soe suddenly sell, we were content to put them of at those prices, in hope to gett the worser and coarser sortes to passe all at the price

the second were made; which wee afterwards effected. So that all the sutes that cost *7s.*, *7s. 6d.*, *10s.*, *12s.*, and *20s.* per ell were sould for 20 rup[ees] the covado, and those which cost *25s.* the ell for 25 rup[ees] the covado square. But there wilbee lost by their not measuringe the blew list, and by the difference of the covado from the Flemish ell, full one-third part, to say, those peeces which content 30 ells square fall out but 20 covados square; more there is abatement in the mony at least 6 or 7 per cent.[1] And although Your Woorships have gayned well by this tapestry, to say, two for one, yet we would not wish you to bee too over hasty in sendinge much therof at once, for that it is a deare commodity and, beinge refused by the Kinge and Prince, will lay dead; and their fancyes beinge already glutted happely with this bought, they may hereafter be careles of it. Yet for that it is a commodity which comes well to passe for some of their uses, we thinke it not amisse if you send yearly three sutes, of price th' one at *15s.* the ell, th' other two at *8s.* or *10s.* the ell; and one of these sutes to bee six ells deepe. After a second tryall wherof, Your Woorships may inlarge or desist to furnish us, according to the profitt thereon shall arrise. The four peeces cloth of silver and tissue were sould the Prince lykewise; the which his officers at Suratt sent him longe before William Biddulph came up, soe that we could never come to sight of them ourselves; and therfore when we came to make price of them, his officers willed us to demaund a reasonable gaine for them, and that at such rates as we should rate them at, they would be content to lett them passe; as afterwards they did; to say, for the two peeces No. 4, No. 5, which cost *3l.* and *3l. 6s.* per yard, we were allowed 40 and 45 rup[ees] per covado; for the peece No. 3, which cost *6l. 10s.* per yard, we were allowed 90 rup[ees] per covado; for the peece No. 1, which cost *9l.* per yard, we were allowed 130 rup[ees] per covado: at which prices they not a little admired, yet gave us allowance for them accordingly. More then this proportion (which is about 50 per cent. gaynes) we durst not demand, fearinge least they might be turned backe on our hands, and soe wee runne th' adventure of a worse markett; although afterwards we understood that they were exceedingly well lyked of, and that he had disposed of them before in presents to his mother. The

[1] *Dastūrī* to the Prince's officers, no doubt.

sale of these (as Your Woorships may perceave) was after such a manner as that we are not yet assured of their true value here, and therfore know not what quantety to advize for to be hereafter sent, yet doubt not but such another parcell as was sent in Captain Bonners fleete, of and about those prices, may yearly sell, if not to profitt, yet to noe losse; and therfore Your Woorships need not make doubt of sendinge yearly five or six such rich peeces, that on better experience wee may more truly informe you.' The velvets and satins were mostly sold to the Prince, but to little profit. Mohairs are in no esteem. The camlets have been disposed of, but with little gain, having been bought at very dear rates in England. A hundred might be sent in future, whereof twenty-five or thirty should be of the finest sorts, from *5l.* to *8l.* apiece; the rest coarse, at from *30s.* to *40s.* each. Half should be reds; the rest murreys, purples, hair colours, light greens and yellows. The Russia hides were sold at 17 rupees a pair; two hundred pairs will vend yearly at that price. Swords, looking-glasses, armour, bonelace, pictures and strong waters 'lye dead, breed much trouble and yeeld noe profitt.' The gold and silver lace was sold to the Prince at 70 per cent. profit. They request 'about twenty ounces of the best gold twist or Venus[1] gold for a tryall; for here is much spent, and wee thinke it bee better then that they make here, which howbeit is worth 1½ rup[ees] per tole'. Fifty pieces of broadcloth is the utmost that will vend here yearly. Embroideries may be sent for presents, but will not sell to profit. As regards the large debt of 30,000 'rupias' they have by virtue of the King's farmān fetched the debtor's surety from Lahore and he is now a prisoner in their hands. 'About the prime October the Kinge with his lesker departed this place on progress towards Lahore and thence to Cashmere; and about a month after followed him William Biddulph and John Willoughby, with Thomas Hawkridge their attendant, to sollicite the Prince about their complaints from Suratt and other businesses belonginge to our factory.' This expense cannot be avoided. Several complaints have been made to the Prince regarding the prohibition of English purchases of goods for the Red Sea; 'which he flatly and without all exceptions denyinge (alleaginge that therby the marchants of Suratt would be impoverished), the

[1] 'Venis' in margin (? Venice).

factors of Suratt were partly resolved to stoppe his shippe untill liberty graunted of free trade; which designe of theirs for divers reasons it seemes they since gave over, and now againe have written William Biddulph to resollicite the Prince to graunt us lycence, if not for a whole shipps ladinge, yet for some certaine prefixed somme of mony to bee yearly thereabouts imployed for Moha; which what effect it will take Wm. Biddulph will shortly advize them. In the meane tyme we have written them to advize and consider with themselves yf happely some goods may bee provided in Agra and other places, whereby on necessity they might yearly patch a shipps ladinge for that place; as noe doubt they may, for that there goe other shippes yearly for Moha as well as these from Suratt, as from Dabull, Chaul, Goga, Diu, and other places, which provide not their ladinge nor any part thereof in Suratt or thereabouts.' John Parker desires leave to return to England. A debt of Nicholas Ufflet paid and charged to his account. Copies of their journal, invoices, letters, &c., sent to Surat for transmission to England. (*Endorsed* 'Receaved by the *Lyon* the 27 September, 1620'. *Seal.* 9½ *pp.*)

MATTHEW DUKE AT MASULIPATAM TO THE COMPANY, DECEMBER 17, 1619 (*O. C.* 828).

Repeats the intelligence of the arrival of Pring's fleet and the meeting of the *Peppercorn* with the *Oranje-Boom* [*see* p. 110]. Thinks that the latter merely reported an agreement between their masters in order to escape capture. The Dutch *Bear*, with 'Haunce Dehais' [*see* p. 48 *n.*] in her and 'laden with many riche spoiles of the Portingales', departed a few days before the arrival of Sir Thomas Dale. The latter died on August 9, and was succeeded by Captain Pring. The *Clove* arrived at Petapoli from Masulipatam on October 1, and thirteen days later was sent back with merchandise and provisions. On the 15th Duke and Futter took their journey to Masulipatam, where the former delivered his accounts to Methwold. 'Captain Pring with his fleet of nine ships set saile out of this road the 10th of this month December, directing his corse for Teecoo, it being the place appointed for randevoze, whear it is to be hooped hee shall meet with the Presedent &c. The said Presedent went to Siam and Patania to resettle those factories, which have been

defased by the Portingales; the shipes hee toke with him wear the *Samson* and the *Hound*, and for merchants Mr. Denton, etc. whose names I know not. The Hollanders sent three good shipes after him, intending, as it is to be supposed, to take him; but God, I trust, will defend the cause of the rite. Hear hath been but twoo Holland shipes on this coast since our fleets arivall, vizt. the *Hart* and the *New Zeland*. This latter named came to an anker near our fleet in the road of Mesulepatnam and som of our merchants went abord, but could learne no newse of any consequence. The said shipe stayd not above four or five houres in the road, but waied againe and toke her waie for Polecatt[1]. Ther came four Danishe shipes to the iland of Seland[2], being on the mouthe of this Goolfe of Bengala, bringing with them great store of people, as men, woomen and children, purposing, as it may appear, to inhabitt thear; but shortly after ther arivall one of ther shipes wear takne by Portingall frigets, and what is becom of the rest I can not learne.'[3] (*Holograph. Endorsed* 'Receaved by the *Lyon* the 27 September, 1620'. 2½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT BROACH TO THOMAS RASTELL AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT, DECEMBER [17?], 1619 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2122, *f.* 197).

Has received their letter and the present. Glanvill should be sent to help the factors at Broach, now that Sprage has departed. He hopes to be back by Monday. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THE SAME TO JOHN BROWNE, &C., AT AHMADĀBĀD, DECEMBER [18], 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 197).

Advises the dispatch of the treasure on the 14th, in the train of the Governor. Requests them to pay a complimentary visit to the

[1] Pulicat. The visit of the *Zeeland* to Masulipatam is mentioned in a letter from the Dutch East India Company to the London Company, dated July —, 1620, a translation of which is preserved in the *Java Records*, vol. ii. pt. 1.

[2] Ceylon. See p. 124.

[3] The letter mentioned above says: 'The pynnace of Denmarke called the *Horison* [Oeresund], sent before their fleet, was arrived neer to Negapatnam on the Coast of Coromandell, and being sett upon by six Portugall frigates, who cutt ther rudder in peeces, by which losse being without stay, they chased her on shore at Caricol and spoyled her, in whom they found 3000 realls of eight. The other four shipps of Denmarke were said to be arryved at Ceylon, but the newes were very uncertaine.'

latter on his arrival and give him bills on Surat for his cash, if he desires it. A present for him sent under the charge of Richard Lancaster and Joseph Walker. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO WILLIAM METHWOLD, &C., AT MASULIPATAM, DECEMBER 24, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 198).

The Dutch here declare that they have received intelligence of the capture of five English ships, viz. the *Star*, in the Straits of Sunda, and the *Dragon*, *Bear*, *Expedition* and *Rose* at Tiku. It is to be feared that others will also be taken. The fleet has not yet returned from Persia, but they hope to have the ships ready for dispatch by the 15th or 20th February, the *Lion* for England, and the rest to whatever destination the Bantam Council may determine. They are surprised not to have received letters before this from Masulipatam. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 3 *pp.*)

THOS. KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO WILLIAM MARTIN, &C., AT BROACH, DECEMBER 25, 1619 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 199).

Send some goods required for presentation, and advise the news from Masulipatam. Urge the early provision of commodities for England. (*Copy. Much damaged.* ½ *p.*)

WILLIAM BIDDULPH AND JOHN WILLOUGHBY[1] AT THE MOGUL'S CAMP[2] TO THE COMPANY, DECEMBER 25, 1619 (*O. C.* 831).

Refer to various points in the Company's letters received per Bonner's fleet. 'For wrongs and abuses offred in Surat per the officers there, they are more liklye to increase rather then deminish, soe long as this Prince, Sultan Corrome, hath that place in his possession; and Sir Thomas Roe never procuringe anye redresse before his departure, as per the effects may playnlye appeare, but sought with all fair meanes to gett himselfe cleare of this country, seeinge hee could doe nothinge with these people, and lefte all the merchants in the country in the bryers to shifte as they might, as in due place followinge some particulers will make playne. Car-

[1] Willoughby's signature is only a matter of form. Biddulph writes in the first person singular throughout.

[2] 'Senend [probably Sirhind] in the Kinges Lascar, 200 courses from Agra and 100 courses short of Lahore.'

petts of Lahore and Agra, yf Your Worshipps have had information that quantityes maye bee had, beinge bespoaken, of those lenghts and breadths you have advised for, it is a greate error; for to my knowledge there hath bin a carpett in Agra house this twelve month amakinge, and yett is little more then half don; and they neither make them soe well nor good collors as when they make them without bespeakinge. And therefore yf those carpetts and theire sizes like you that this yeare are sent, questionlesse you maye have greate quantityes of them sent yearlye from one or both places; but Lahore is the cheife place for that comoditye. Broad baftaes and narrow, I doubte not but you will have large advise from Surat. For samanaes it seemes good quantityes, beinge of the finer sorts, will vent in England, which are not in Agra to be had soe good nor soe good cheape there as in the towne of Saman[a], nor such quantityes; findinge per experience, beinge four or five months in Agra, and am crediblye informed by the Samana men themselves that in theire towne, which is called Saman[a] and is about 180 courses from Agra, that wee maye buye them rawe and white them as wee doe at Boroch, or readye whited, as wee please, takinge our choyce of the sorts, and that in great quantityes, alwayes provided two merchants remayne there the yeare about, to make theire provisions. This I have advised the President and Factors att Surat; soe must referr the effectinge to theire orders; but am perswaded nether quantityes, goodnes, nor cheapnesse wilbee had yf they take not this course.' He has not yet heard what quantity of indigo is to be provided in Agra for next year. Condemns the project of bringing silver in ingots instead of rials. Furs, window-glass, swords, hot waters or wines should not be sent; and knives only for presents. The advice of obtaining a fortified settlement is foolish; 'in breife, it will never be graunted, neither was ever liklie.' Of the gentlemen and gentlewomen who came in Pring's fleet, there remains only 'Captain Towersons ladye or wife [*see* p. 155], who remaynes at present in Agra, who hath spent all the meanes hir husband left with hir for hir expence, and is att present in debte to my knowledge two or three hundred ru[pees]; and five or six dayes before my departure [from] Agra, shee and hir mother sent to mee daylye to borrow 200 ru[pees] untill hir husbands retorne, who I absolutelye denied untill theire allowance

from Suratt; whereuppon they rayled uppon hir husband and nation, but principallye hir mother, which is noe smale discreeditt to our nation. Soe yf the next yeare hir husband come not nor send hir meanes, shee will breed much trouble to your factors at Agra and the court with theire exclamations; therefore is needfull you take some course with hir husband for hir mayntaynnance, or send for hir to him to avoyd expence, trouble and scandall; which yf [she] remayne here and want meanes will follow in the end. Richard Steele to my knowledge was never in the Kings service, neither entertayned into paye, but went with the plumer and other artificers sent with the King in his travels to performe some of his projects, which were never effected, the Kinge in all his time beinge uppon his progresse (yf had bin in a restinge place, I beleeve would have performed little), and befor that ended came to Surat and from thence shippt for England, per whome and per Sir Thomas Roe, with others advises, I doubte not but Your Worshipps have had large informations, unto which referr mee.' Forty or fifty broadcloths per annum will suffice. Russia hides sell well in the heat of the year, 'beinge in that time in use to sitt uppon for theire coolenesse.' Silk is to be had at Agra, but the supply is irregular, 'and most in such smale and short skeenes that there wilbe greate losse in the new reelinge of itt.' They hear from many brokers that cochineal is far cheaper in Persia than here. 'Itt yealds here most comonlye, yf good, 30 and 40 ru[pees] per seare of 30 pisas waight, which is about 1¼ pound waight English. Itt comes out of Persia hether, and out of Turkye and Barbarye into Persia.' Saffron is worth at court 14 rupees per seer, and will sell well, if good. He hopes to dispose of the great pearl to profit, if it be sent to court. He answers complaints about the 'samanaes' sent home in the *Bull*. Those now sent will be found better, though rather dearer, by reason of the King and Prince being in Agra. He has advised that a factor should be deputed to purchase them in 'the towne where they are made'. Spikenard will be sent next year. He notes the favour shown by the Company to some of their ancient servants by augmentation of wages. His desire to return home. Troubles at Surat. The goods were detained in the custom-house till March 18, when the chief time for sale at court was past. They were then sent to Agra in the charge of Biddulph, Willoughby,

Parker, John Young and Hawkridge. On the way a letter was received from John Bangham announcing that his caravan had been stopped 'per one Condye Suffer, Armenian, whom Francisco Swaryes, Portingall, lefte there att his departure for Decann, as his procurador to follow this busynes to stay the English goods'. Hereupon Biddulph, with Hawkridge, posted to Burhānpur to Bangham's assistance. There he found that Soares and 'Musquito' (another Portuguese) had started for the Deccan in company with one of the Prince's servants, leaving the Armenian to follow up the suit. Nothing, however, could be done immediately, 'per reason of the Governors eldest sonns [1] death few dayes before wee came thether, and greate heavynesse in all the citty'. A petition was therefore drawn up to the Governor [2] complaining of the detention of the caravan, of the Armenian keeping Sprage a prisoner, and of the previous robbery of indigo in his son's 'pregonye [3]'. 'After four or five dayes, though the Governor were sad for his sonns death, I had admittance; who used mee kindlye, with promise of justice for all what I desired. Two dayes after I visited him againe, acquaintinge him with my busynes, who presentlye sent for the Armenian that stayed our goods and demaunded of him wherefore hee caused the goods to be detayned. Hee answered as afore specified, that was, that Swaryes had delivered to the said Bangam 20,000 ru[pees] in chenye ware etc. I tould the Governor the partye to whom hee delivered itt must answere itt. The Armenian replyed itt was our costome that what one of us did here the rest were liable to answere, and that it was true would bringe twenty wittnesses Christians. Then I said they were none but Portingalls and Armenians, which were both our enimies and knew not our costomes. The Governor at that time would here noe more, but appoynted another meetinge. The next daye after I received letters from Suratt with theire petition to the Governor, the effect beinge as I formerlye had given him, and with them the Kinge and Princes firmaens; all which after the receipt I presented to the Governor, and againe urged our busynes, and that I was goinge to the Kinge with presents and stayed onlye to know his pleasure

[1] Shāhnawāz Khān (see note on p. 60).

[2] i. e. the Khānkhānān.

[3] *Pargana*, i. e. the tract of country assigned him by the Mogul. 'Prigonies,' says Purchas (vol. i. p. 455), 'are lordships.'

what hee would doe with our goods; and that he might perceave per those firmaens it was the Kinge and Princes pleasures wee should have all right, and that the Portingalls, beinge our enimyes, had raysed this untruth against us; who both hard and read all what I delivered unto him, and presentlye sent for the Justice of the towne to have forced the Armenian to deliver Sprage unto mee, with promise our other busynes should bee ended presentlye; but before hee came, or anye thinge elce don, hee rose without effectinge anye thinge that daye. Swaryes, notwithstandinge his absence, what with his liberalitye, or rather prodigalitye, hath to frend generallye the whole towne, both Governor, cheifes, and merchants. Soe when I perceaved and understood soe much, I expected smale justice to be don on our parts; yett to prove the uttmost, I stayed some dayes longer then I might well have don. And dayes after, the Justice of the towne sent for mee, to whom I went and found that cheetinge Armenian Suffer, havinge with him 20 or 25 wittnesses, Armenians, Moores, and Banians; where wee were all carried before the Governor, where the busynes was againe handled, the said Suffer producinge Hackim Cushalls letter, being the Princes man that went with Swaryes, and Swaryes owne letter, with a role of all the foresaid wittnesses, affirminge that Swaryes delivered into the hands of Nicholas Banggam in Bramport the foresaid some, spetified in goods, and withall that it was our costome to answer all debts, goods, and monyes one for another in these parts; to which I answered as formerlye, deniinge the knowledge of anye such goods or costome, and yf hee had delivered anye such goods to anye particuler Englishman, hee must answere for them, and that other English were not lyable to paye it nor theire goods. To which the Governor and all the Mores said that was theire justice here indeede, but the Governor said because that we were all Christians that the differance was betweene, wee should have justice accordinge to our owne costomes. I tould him there was greate difference betweene the Portingalls, Armenians, and us, both in religeon and justice, and that here were none but Armenians, and such as were never in England and knew not our costomes, and more that they were the Portingalls frends and our enimies; with that an old Armenian tould the Governor that hee had bin in Turkye, in all places where the English did trade there, and that

goods remayne in his power untill the busynes were ended; and delivered Sprage into my hands, which I was not a little glad of, that he should beare noe witnesse against us.' Biddulph also managed to recover from the Armenian some bills he had taken from Sprage, to whom they had been entrusted by Roe to recover a debt from a fugitive in the Deccan.[1] Having sent Sprage to Surat, Biddulph left John Bangham in charge of the goods and resumed his journey to Agra on April 22. The Armenian told the Governor that Roe had ordered the Surat factors to content Soares for his china; if true, this has been the cause of much trouble and loss. Biddulph arrived at Agra May 23, and shortly after obtained a farmān for the release of the caravan and for restitution for the indigo taken from John Young's party. As this proved of no avail, a second was procured, which was more effectual, 'for uppon sight thereof all the goods were released without payment of anythinge, and the Governor alsoe gave his writinge to Giles James to the towne where the indico was forced from John Yonge that wee should have satisfaction.' It is possible, however, that Soares will give further trouble on his return from the Deccan. No doubt the Company will question Nicholas Bangham and consult Sir Thomas Roe, 'who was most acquainted with that busyness; the Padrye [*see* p. 15 *n.*] have aften spoake to him about it.' Biddulph next solicited the Mogul's assistance in the matter of their great debt of 30,000 rupees. As the debtor himself was in His Majesty's prison, Biddulph asked that the surety might be delivered into his hands. Accordingly, 'the 25th of September last the surtye came from Lahore and hee and myselfe went before the Kinge, and after demaundinge of him whether hee were surtye, with some few other questions, caused him to be delivered into my hands and bid mee keepe him untill hee had satisfied mee, which was greate justice and as much as I cold expect from him. Soe I carried the surtye home with mee and have kept him ever since in irons; and beinge uppon travell breeds my noe smale care and trouble leste hee should escape my hands. As yett hath paid nothinge, but at instant shewes mee meanes, as bills, etc., for 14,000 ru[pees] which divers his frends owes him neare Lahore; soe am neare uppon dispeedinge John Willoughbye with his people to receave the monye,

[1] See *Letters Received*, vol. vi. p. 135.

wantinge onlye Asufchans screete to the partyes, comaunding theire present payment, that I send him not uppon uncertayntyes but uppon sure grounds; makinge the surtye before Asufchan to affirme such his frends owe him soe much monye, and that hee hath assigned the English to receave itt; before whom hee dares not saye otherwise then truth.' He has sold the greater part of the fine goods at court. Loss in the measurement of the arras or hangings. 'Those of 4, 4½, and 5 ells deepe are fittest for there use, beinge they use them to put over theire heads where they sitt, and for kanottes[1], which are like pales to sett about theire tentes.' Cloth of gold and silver, velvets, satins, and gold and silver lace will sell well; but 'there is noe certayntye of the request of anye fine goods in the court, for they are soe variable they change theire mindes in a moment and desire yearlye new and strange things, they know not what themselves; soe it is not easye to fitt their humours'. 'Greate pearles from twenty to forty carratts, orientall and faire, are the presentest money of any commoditye and most in request at present.' Armour, swords, or pictures should be sent only for presents. Another caravan dispatched from Agra to Surat on October 3. 'The 7th of the same month the Kinge departed Agra uppon his intended jornye for Cashmere, which is 450 courses from Agra;' and on the 10th November Biddulph and Willoughby, with Hawkridge in attendance, followed him. He has done his best with the Prince and others to procure liberty to trade in the Red Sea, but 'notwithstandinge what I could doe, the Governour and all the merchants in Suratt petitio[n]ing the Prince not to graunt us that trade, for yf hee did they were all undon and the cittye begered, havinge noe other place to trade unto but the Red Sea, which they were contented with, leavinge the southwards and other places for the English, the Prince and all generallye tendringe theire owne peoples goods and complaynts before our shutes and benifitts, and not beleevinge wee durst or would use force against them att sea, havinge soe manye English in divers places in this countrye and such quantityes of goods as yearelye wer brought in and remayned still in these parts, the cheife men tellinge of itt, soe that they thinke themselves safe with these pawnes and their owne pride, which blinds them soe that they wil beleeve nothinge untill

[1] Hind. *qanāt*, a screen placed round a tent or enclosure.

itt falls uppon theire heads; all which did cause an absolut denyall to that trade, the Prince wishinge mee to trouble him noe more with that busynes; which answere I advised to Surat, with my opinion to make staye of theire shipp then expected with the *Lyon* from the Red Sea, yf itt were but for a few dayes, that the Kinge and Prince might take notice that wee both could and would force that trade, yf per faire meanes wee could not procure itt. But itt seemed per theire answere to that poynt they and Amadavas cold not agree to performe itt, unlesse expresse order from Your Worshipps; which yf had soe fallen out that they had agreed with my opinion, they had bin prevented per theire shipps not retorne from the Red Sea this yeare, per reason of theire late departure the roade and the munsones tur[n]inge were forced to staye till the next yeare. I onlye gave my opinion to staye hir for a few dayes, that the Governor and merchants might have written the Prince thereof, and afterwards released (untill expresse order from Your Worshipps), which would have bin little hindrance to our busynes but rather a furtherance; but I hope in God all was for the best, and must saye they worke surlye that have warrant for theire proceedings. Since which I received letters uppon travell from Surat after the arivall of the fleete, with theire petitions to the Prince and Asufchan, wherein againe they urged the Mocha trade, and that the Governor and cheifes of Suratt would not suffer them to bringe theire corrall to Suratt to sell (which was a new force never spoaken of before), neither would suffer them to have a house suffitient for themselves and goods. Uppon receipte of theire petitions and letter of advise of the wrongs offred them, I first acquanted Asufchan and the Princes cheife nobleman[1] with the abuses offred us, and that itt was not accordinge to divers firmaens given our nation per the Kinge and Prince for our free trade and good usage in all places in the Kinges dominions. Theire answere was the Prince was kinge in Suratt and might use his pleasure; but they would assist us in our busynes to him what they could, but to complayn to the Kinge his father of him would but incense him the more against us, beinge continewallye att his fathers elbow, who would not discontent his sonn to pleasure us; wishinge us to have a little patience, for it was liklye hee should not longe con-

[1] Afzal Khān (see note on p. 36).

tinew in that place, which God graunt prove true. Few dayes after this conference, I went to the Prince and delivered him theire petition from Suratt, the Governor and cheifes of Suratt havinge the same time petitioned the Prince to contradict what the English desired for the Red Sea trade; and for the corrall, it was the cheife commoditye came from that place. And after perusall and some questions, he absolutlye tould mee wee should not trade to the Red Sea, havinge given mee in Agra answere suffitient, nor bringe anye corrall into these partes to sell; and yf could not be contented to have free trade for all but Mocha, wee might goe out of the countrye yf wee would, for must not begger his people for us; but yf would have his firmaen for a house and free trade in all other places with good usage, wee should have one. I tould him yf had not free trade to buy and sell in all places, as costome of merchants were, wee needed not neither house nor firmaen. Att that instant was present one Jemoll Chan[1], who was last yeare Governour of Surat, who did affirme before the Prince that the last yeare, before Sir Thomas Roes departure, he promised him and some of the cheife merchants of Suratt that yf they would suffer him to lade those goods alreadye bought for the Redd Sea, beinge nott fitt for owne countrye, hee would passe his word wee should send noe more to the Red Sea, and uppon those promises they lett them passe the last yeare. I tould him there was noe such matter promised, for myselfe was there then present. Soe bid us trouble him noe more with that busynes. I doe well remember Sir Thomas Roe had much to doe the last yeare in Suratt to shipp the goods for Mocha, which the merchaunts graunted at last but absolutlye tould him wee shold send noe more, and Sir Thomas Roe answered yf they did petition to the Prince they should be answered. This was all the remedye was sought per him before his departure. Not lettinge the busynes soe fall, seeinge the necessitye, I caused a short petition to be drawne to the Prince for the things needfull, and not longe after (beinge as soone as possiblye I could, considringe it was uppon travell) I againe presented itt unto him; which after perusall seemed verye much displeased, wished mee to forbeare my shute. Soe Asufchan speakinge in our behalfes, hee graunted his firmaen for sale of our corrall in Suratt or elcewhere for this yeare, and for

[1] Jamāl Khān (see p. 150).

our old house in Surat, which they were turned out of, or another to theire contents; with comaund of present dispatch of our goods out of the costome house, both inwards and outwards, and to use our people kindlye. For the Mocha trade, hee would not here of itt. This firmaen I was att present forced to take, not knowinge anye remidye; which few dayes past was effected. Soe Your Worshipps may perceave what trouble the Prince doth yearlye give us, which there is smale hopes will ever be otherwise soe longe as hee is in such favour with his father and hath Surat in his hands. For the Mocha trade and free sale for corrall, the former will never be graunted but with much difficultye, and for the other noe certayntye thereof. Soe that in my opinionn you must either resolve to lett fall the Red Sea trade or beare the hazard of your goods and merchants in this countrye yf you order the seazure and takeinge of theire shipp and goods, which questionlesse wilbee a greate adventure of youre goods and trade, and absolutlye will that yeare, whensoever it is putt in pracktise, hinder the sendinge of a shipp for England and goods to the southwards. These are the best can be expected; soe must referr the effectinge to Your Worshipps commaunds, which for my owne parte I shalbee ever readye to obaye soe theire maye be apparance itt maye prove in all liklyehood for your benefitts, and otherwise I am perswaded none in these parts will condesend thereunto.' Biddulph advises that no more coral be sent till matters are on a better footing. He is surprised at the small number of presents sent this year, as little can be done at court without them. Pay of Thomas Hawkridge. 'It is uncertayne att present where the Kinge will settle, but is generally reported hee will make a mounthes staye 30 courses beyond Lahore, and afterwards proceede on his progresse for Cashmere, which is 150 courses farther, and there staye two or three mounthes and afterwards retorne for Lahore. But how longe hee will remayne there, or whither from thence hee will goe, is not knowne. His owne resolutions are uncertayne, beinge lead per a woman; therefore must referr the truth to time.' Biddulph has ordered any further goods for court to be kept at Agra till it is known where the King will settle, as the camp is full of thieves. He hopes the Company will consider his 'paynes and travell'. (*Endorsed* 'Receaved the 27 September, 1620'. 8½ *pp.*)

[THOMAS KERRIDGE] AT SURAT TO WILLIAM MARTIN, &c., AT BROACH, JANUARY 1, 1620 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2122, *f.* 199).

Perceives from his letter the arrival of the Ahmadābād caravan and his trouble in dispatching it, 'which by the Mirjaes [1] helpe wee doubte not you will overcome.' (*Copy. Much damaged, and in parts illegible.* 1 *p.*)

ESTIMATE OF FUNDS AVAILABLE AT THE VARIOUS FACTORIES FOR INVESTMENT (*Ibid.*, *f.* 200).

At Surat, in money, good debts or commodities conceived vendible, mahmūdīs 614,616, from which deduct 42,616 for customs, provisions, &c., leaving available mahmūdīs 572,000. At Agra, mahmūdīs 207,000. At Ahmadābād, mahmūdīs 236,000. Total, mahmūdīs 1,015,000. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 1 *p.*)

GOODS TO BE PROVIDED AT AGRA, LAHORE, AND [SAMĀNA ?], JANUARY 10, 1620 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 201).

'Semyanos'; 'sahowne cloth'; 'ambertees,' plain, coloured, and raw; carpets; 'chintes for hanginges'; 'quiltes of cheentes'; Bengal stuffs, &c. Total, rupees 12[9 ?],650. 'Remember allso to provide some quanteties of Derebaudes [2], Gelalepore and amentoes chosen accordinge to our masters order.' (*Copy. Much damaged.* 2 *pp.*)

GOODS TO BE PROVIDED AT AHMADĀBĀD, CAMBAY, DHOLKA, &c. (*Ibid.*, *f.* 202).

'Dutties Dulka, to be whited'; 'dutties to be died into light watchet'; 'dutties raw'; 'baftas,' white and dyed into various colours; chintz for hangings; 'quillts of cottonee, close [stitcht and] lined with taffetye'; ditto slightly stitched; Cambay quilts; 'cubberd clothes of pangeree [3], serasse, newree, &c.; and striped callicoes for curtaynes'; agate beads. [*Part illegible.*] Total, rupees 151,813. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 2 *pp.*)

[1] Mīrzā Muhammad Yār, the Governor's brother.

[2] Valentyn (vol. iv. pt. 2, p. 146) mentions 'sjoetaris [*chautārs*] Dariabadis [of Daryābād ?]' and 'mamoedi's de Talaalpoer [Jalaalpoer ?]' as cloths obtained at Agra.

[3] Mr. P. B. Joshi explains this as 'a kind of cloth made by the process of *pānjanī* or sizing'.

GOODS TO BE PROVIDED AT [BROACH ?] (*Ibid.*, *f.* 203).

Baftas, broad and narrow; 'necanees'; 'gingams'; 'buckar'; 'reyses'; table napkins, and 'baftaes for tablinge'. Total [ ]. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 1 *p.*)

[THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES] AT SURAT TO JOHN BROWNE, &C., AT AHMADĀBĀD, JANUARY 13, 1620 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 204).

Complain of their omission to write, though it is understood that Mr. Browne's sickness is partly the cause. No list was sent with the last caravan; consequently all the goods must be unpacked for the purpose of compiling one before they can be passed through the custom-house. They are also waiting for the Ahmadābād accounts, and fear they will have to close their books without them. List sent of commodities to be provided the coming year. Matters of account. Mr. Browne is not to be burdened with the keeping of the books; 'wee do agayne injoyne [James] Bickforde to there undertakinge.' News of Dutch victories to the southwards. *P.S.*—They have just heard that the fleet is at hand on its return from Persia. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 2¼ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE COMMANDER OF THE FLEET AT SWALLY, JANUARY [13], 1620 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 205).

Welcome his safe arrival. The Portuguese fleet has not put in an appearance, but there are sixteen or seventeen [frigates?] about, and so the boats must be on their guard. They hope to be at Swally soon. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

[THE SAME] TO [WILLIAM MARTIN, &C.] AT BROACH, JANUARY 13, 1620 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 205).

Error in account. Will shortly send them some gunny. 'Wee sent you two dayes past allso our ould coach with one oxe, thatt accordinge to your desire you may provide yourselfe there of another; and per the bellwan [1] (sent to serve you) wee sent you allso four bills importinge m[ahmūdīs] 3,502, whereto per this convayance wee have added m[ahmūdīs] 1,300 by two bills heare-

[1] Hind. *bail-wān*, 'ox-driver.'

inclosed.' No further news from Masulipatam, but they are glad to say the fleet has arrived from Persia in safety. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

[THOMAS KERRIDGE] AT SURAT TO [CAPTAIN BICKLEY AT SWALLY, JANUARY 13?], 1620 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 206).

(*Copy. Illegible.* ¼ *p.*)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, JANUARY 14, 1620 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 206).

Supply of provisions for the ships. (*Copy. Damaged.* ¼ *p.*)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, JANUARY [ ], 1620 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 206).

Sends back a Portuguese boy. (*Copy. Damaged.* ¼ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO THE SAME, JANUARY 18, 1620 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 206).

In view of the attitude of the native officials, they beg him to send the *Diamond* and a small pinnace to search the coast for a good harbour, and especially to examine 'a roade neare Mondaf[rabar][1] discovered by Captayne Beast'; also to inquire in the fleet for verbal or written information regarding that road. They would be glad of 'a draught of the land of Jasques and some breife jurnall of your navigacion thither'. (*Copy. Much damaged.* ¾ *p.*)

THE SAME TO [ ] SEROYNE, JANUARY 19 (?), 1620 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 207).

Regret their inability to accede to his wish [for a passage on the fleet?]. (*Copy. Much damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO [JOHN] WEDDELL AT SWALLY, JANUARY 21, 1620 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 207).

His letter received. An answer will be sent to-morrow. (*Copy. Much damaged.* ½ *p.*)

[1] Muzafarābād or Jāfarābād, on the Kāthiāwār coast, about thirty miles east of Diu; see Best's journal in *Purchas* (vol. i. p. 460), *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster* (p. 239), and *Letters Received by the E. I. Co.* (vol. i. p. 257). At one time Roe favoured the idea ot obtaining the cession of the town from the Mogul with a view to fortifying it and making it the head quarters of the English, but he soon abandoned the project as impracticable (Ibid., vol. iii. p. 208, vol. iv. p. 300; *The Embassy*, pp. 94, 344).

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, AND GILES JAMES AT SURAT TO CAPTAIN BICKLEY AT SWALLY, JANUARY 22, 1620 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 208).

The journal and chart he has sent are quite sufficient, and he need not trouble to make further search. Two messengers arrived from Masulipatam, one of whom was wounded and robbed on his way. From the letters brought by the other they understand that Pring's fleet expects to meet his at Priaman, as first arranged. Capture of English ships by the Dutch. They will do their best to provide the requisite stores for the ships. The gold found in an old chest by the surgeon of the *Diamond* should be confiscated and his evidence recorded. Landing of lead and ivory. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 2 *pp.*)

THE SAME TO WILLIAM BIDDULPH [AT COURT], JANUARY 22, 1620 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 209).

Goods to be provided for next season's shipping. They intend shortly to send up Robert Young and [another factor?] 'for assistance and too reside [at?] Samana for provicions of such linnens [as can] be procured'. The fleet has returned from Persia, having safely landed their money and goods, but brought back [ ]. Trouble over the two prizes taken last year. The King has raised the price of his silk, but the factors hope to get it reduced again. 'God graunte the successe they promise; otherwise that trade allso is att the best and will nott answere expectacion.' On their way the fleet surprised a small boat of 'Sindu' [*see* p. 12] bound for Muskat, 'who havinge sundry letters and passes of the Portingalls caused distrust in ours they weare Portingalls goods bound to releeve the there expected gallions.' The Persia factors let the boat go, but confiscated the goods. Nothing heard yet of the matter, but it is to be feared that there will be 'future exclamacion'. Capture of English ships by the Dutch. (*Copy. Much damaged and in parts illegible.* 3½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AND THOMAS RASTELL AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT AGRA, JANUARY [22?], 1620 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 210).

As advised, they have written to Ahmadābād to supply Agra with funds, but they cannot see much advantage in this course,

which 'will nott att presente advance past halfe per cento in the exchange of rup[ees] secaus [*see* p. 113] for hundies', and this, as a double exchange is involved, will leave little gain. Lists of goods to be provided for the next season's shipping. They have appointed [ ] to procure commodities in Lahore, and propose to send [Robert] Young and another factor for its better accomplishment, 'and to settle them in Semiana.' John Young is to assist Mr. [Hughes] in 'Hogreporepatamia[1] or where elce the am[bertees] are made'. No news received from Biddulph, 'nor have wee yett any releefe from Jamsheadbeage butt in worde.' They hope Biddulph will be able to recover the debts outstanding at court. As they cannot get definite information from Persia regarding the demand for India goods, they do not intend sending a further supply. Purchase of various commodities. (*Copy. Much damaged and in parts illegible.* 3½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE AT SURAT TO [WALTER] HARVEY [AT SWALLY], JANUARY [22?], 1620 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 209).

Instructions for landing and weighing lead and ivory from the ships. (*Copy. Much damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THE SAME TO [ ], JANUARY 23, 1620 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 209).

Advises a complaint from the 'adowya' [*see* p. 129 *n.*], and gives orders for his satisfaction. (*Copy. Much damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THE SAME TO JOHN BROWNE, &C., AT AHMADĀBĀD, JANUARY [ ], 1620 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 212).

They have heard from Biddulph that the trade to the Red Sea is absolutely forbidden them by the Prince, but that they are allowed to sell their coral 'provided wee give a writinge never to bringe any more, or otherwise to reshippe the mencioned. Our ould house he willeth to be restored, if the owner and offecers consente; if not, that then they provide us one conveniente, thatt he bee not troubled no more with itt. Further, in generall wordes he lycenseth our trade both for England and Sowards, butt the nominacion of

[1] Hājīpur-Patna. Hājīpur is a short distance from Patna on the opposite side of the Ganges. Mundy calls it 'Hageepore-Puttana'.

the places wee required purposely left out. Itt requireth allso our dispatches att custome house without delayes, which yett wee cannott procure.' *P.S.*—News from Persia and Masulipatam. (*Copy. Much damaged, and the greater part illegible.* 3 *pp.*)[1]

THOMAS KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, GILES JAMES, AND EDWARD HEYNES AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, FEBRUARY 18, 1620 (*Abstract only. Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i. p. 26).

Bonner in the *Dragon* had a complimentary reception at Dābhol, but could sell nothing.[2] The boat taken from Surat by Pepwell[3] was sold at Masulipatam for 1,000 rials. It is intended to settle a factory at Lahore or Samāna. Debts at court doubtful. They deny that they connive at private trade. It would be well if the ships for Surat could be dispatched earlier from England, and could be fitted with special places for the finer goods. Reasons for detaining part of the cargo consigned to Persia. 'The inborne cunning of the people of India is incredible. The abuse of the Guzerates will not be remidyed but by one meanes only, namely, by deteyning their junckes. . . . The corruption of the Governor and other officers at Suratt will not be reformed but by some violent cours; the[y] eate upon all that canot right themselves; from the King to the lowest officer, great corruption.' The Company's allowance of strong measures for redressing their wrongs is not sufficiently explicit. In view of the increased demand for cotton goods, the number of factories cannot be reduced, but should rather be augmented. The orders for greater frugality will be observed. Private trade in the *Unicorn* and *Lion*. 'They advise that if some tolleracion for private trade be not permitted, none but desperate men will saile our ships.' They will endeavour to supply the commodities ordered, though they doubt whether all the piece-goods required can be procured. They hope to provide 10,000 pieces of broad baftas, and the same quantity of 'semianoes' and 'dutties'. A few 'tabling baffetaes' sent. 'They canot procure the weavers to make other workes or better woven then acustomed; they are industrious in nothing but deceipt.' Of indigo they will send 1,000 or

[1] The MS. contains portions of several other letters, extending apparently to the middle of February, 1620; but they are too fragmentary to be of any use.

[2] Cf. Hoare's letter (p. 68).

[3] See *Letters Received*, vol. v. p. 206.

[illegible] bales yearly. 'The Biana indico is cheaper for its sorte then the Cirques' [*see* p. 3 *n.*]. If the returns from Persia be sufficiently large, two ships will be sent home instead of one. Fifty maunds of gum-lac on sticks forwarded. They see no objection to bullion in ingots being substituted for rials [*cf.* p. 168]. Swords or knives are fit only for presents. 'The marriners bring better and better cheape knives and swordes then the Company.' 'Our ships staied two Malabars junckes, but the Guzerates inforced our people to lett them loose againe with great threats. The Guzeratts are kept under the Portugales, but will overrule us because we deale not with them as the Portugales doe. Without seizing of the Surratt shipping we shall find no reason nor right at their hands.' Mrs. Towerson's demands for maintenance. Glass beads returned. The unicorn's horn [*see* p. 11 *n.*] has been sent from Achin to Bantam. Claim against the late [Henry] Woodroffe. Landing of unpolished coral prohibited. They have advised the Masulipatam factors not to buy indigo. Supplies for Achin and Bantam. They thank the Company for increasing their wages. Disposal of broadcloth. 'The Guzeratts wilbee sharers in all our comodityes and therefore trouble us.' Sale of ivory. Leakage of quicksilver. 'Corrall would finde good vent if we might trade freely therein, but they feare the next corrall we send wilbe forced to seeke a newe markett.' They doubt whether Dābhol would be a good place for it, 'in regard of the Portugals;' but the Dutch have sold some at Masulipatam, and that 'must be our markett also for our corrall, except we compell and force trade in Surratt.' The polished coral is still detained in the custom-house. The Portuguese bring none into the Indies. The amber remains unsold; also the lead, the sale of which was prohibited in Surat. The Russia hides were small and in bad condition. Price of tin. Most of the presents were forwarded to Persia; 'wherethrough the Mogulls court is unfurnished, insomuch that a principall courtyour from the King come 1,100 myle to buy toyes but found none.' The cloth of gold and other fine goods were sold mostly to the King and Prince at a good profit. 'The Kings paiment is secure, though longsome.' Patterns of silk sent. They have written to Masulipatam regarding silk from thence. Wheat will be sent to Bantam. The Rev. Mr. Golding [*see* p. 32 *n.*] is dead. The cochineal and seamorse teeth were sent to Persia,

there being no demand for them at Surat. 'Whether eating of fresh flesh or excessive drincking of toddy do destroy most of our marriners is doubtfull; but one of them it is, seeing the ships which go for Persia find no such mortality.' Stations assigned to the various factors. 'The great pearle received and sent up to the court. Pearles esteemed rather by their greatnes then their bewty. Ballast [balass] rubies advised for; the Portugalls bring great store.' Of the rials sent in the fleet 150,000 were sent to Persia, and 163,956 landed at Surat for the Indian investments. 'Of the ten gallions [*see* p. 143] advised in our letter to be sent from Lixborne to Goa onely three arrived there. They feare the Netherlanders wilbe more powerfull enymyes.' The Persia factors are negligent and disorderly. Surat will send no Indian commodities to Persia until some return has been made from thence. 'Yea, they say they will not suffer the monyes and goodes sent for Persia from hence to be landed except they finde the last cavidall employed and sent downe to the waters side. Discommendacions againe of the Persian factors, and distrust of the benefitt of that trade.' Replies to the Company's subsequent letters of March 6 and 8. Recoveries to be made from Ufflet and Nicholas Bangham. Sprage has been entertained as a mariner and sent to the southwards in the *Charles*. 'What was recovered by lawe of Midnalls executors [1] for the accompt of Mr. Abbott, Offly and Leate is now called in question againe; for aunswering whereof and charges of defence they do advise this Company to take caution here.' Loss of the *Sun*, and capture of ships by the Hollanders. Victuals provided to be sent to the southwards. Suspicions of George Ball's intentions. 'They advise to procure authority to intercept the Holland ships coming out of the East Indies in the narrowe seas. They shew what disturbance of our trade is at Surratt and for the Red Sea, the restoring of which they advise by intercepting their junckes. Piracie upon the Mores junckes in the Red Sea wilbe required of our goodes; therefore fitt to have trade into the Red Sea. The trade of the Red Sea nowe commended, where quantityes of spices will sell better then in Persia or India. Those Moores of Surratt will hold no corespondence but by feare. Corrall forbidden by the Prince to be brought into Surrat, and

[1] See *Letters Received*, vol. iii. p. 302.

the like for Indian comodityes not by us to be exported which are propper for the Red Sea; but permitteth us trade to the southward and for England. The cuning and cosoning trickes of the Moores to hinder our trad. Cosoning firmans of the Prince; and the Kings firmaens not regarded. To retourne the originalls of our priviledges taken by Captain Keeling, and other priviledges taken there. The stopping up of their portes will inforce anie condicions; which may the better be done if the Duitch and we joyne together &c.; else tradeing to Surratt will not be anie thing worth.' If the Persian trade appear promising, the fleet from England might go first to Jask, except one ship, which should be sent direct to Surat as an adviser. The ship bringing spices from the southwards should either get to Surat at the same season as the fleet from England, or else go first to the Red Sea (where spices will sell better than in Persia), and then proceed either to Surat or Jask with her silver and gold. A small vessel needed 'to comande the shore at Jask'. The ships recently sent to Persia seized a frigate of 'Synda', for which it is feared double restitution will have to be made. A 'goulden[1] chirurgion' permitted to return, having been dismissed the Company's service; they have taken his gold and given him bills for 305*l.* [John ?] Adie, master's mate of the *Ruby*, sent home as impotent. Salbank praised. Heynes made fourth at Surat and added to the council. Increased allowances to John Gooding [Goodwin] and John Bangham. Payments to Edward Pettus and Joseph Salbank. Packing of piece-goods. (5½ *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD ABOARD THE *CHARLES* [AT SWALLY] BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE, CAPTAIN JOHN BICKLEY, AND MESSRS. RASTELL, JAMES, HEYNES, MARTIN, AND HUTCHINSON[2], FEBRUARY 26, 1620 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 1).

The *Lion's Claw* pinnace to be repaired and to proceed with the fleet. Disposal of the piece-goods found in the frigate surprised in the Gulf of Persia. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

[1] Wealthy. His name was Richard Saunders. He may have been the surgeon referred to on pp. 99, 100.

[2] Described as 'Register'. The other ordinary members of the council are termed 'marchants'.

CONSULTATION HELD ON BOARD THE *CHARLES* AT SWALLY BY PRESIDENT THOMAS KERRIDGE AND MESSRS. RASTELL, JAMES, AND HOPKINSON, MARCH 13, 1620 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 2).

For the better encouraging of the sailors against the Dutch, advances of wages are to be made, 'to paye in England two for one, rateinge the ryall at five shillings.' About a hundred rials to be spent in clothing certain poor men on board the ships. A thousand dollars to be delivered to the commander of the fleet for stock. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE AND MESSRS. RASTELL, JAMES, HEYNES, AND HOPKINSON, MARCH 28, 1620 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 2).

Their coral is still detained in the custom-house, in spite of the Prince's farmān for its release, and as they have repeatedly refused to sell it 'for the Prince his sercare' [*see* p. 160] 'Jemsheir Beag,' the Governor, has imprisoned the English shroffs and 'lynen broker', for buying and selling to them without his leave, and is now 'daylie instigateinge by his ministers underhand that excepte wee soulde the same there could bee noe peaceable liveinge for us, but that our busines would receive a present stoppe, and persones molestation in sundrie kindes, and one the contrarye, effecting his will in the sale therof, wee were promised all freedome in our trade and performance of whatsoever elce wee woulde desire'. Further, it was reported that he intended (being superintendent of the custom-house) to rate it at one-half of its value, which would occasion a loss of more than 3,000*l.* They are determined not to sell him the coral, but have 'att the motion of his owne ministers proffered a private guift'. It has been agreed 'that for 1,000 royals of eyght bribe to the Governor, 100 ditto royals to the broker, and the saile of 2,000 maunds leade into the Prince his warehowse at a ma[hmūdī] per maund lesse then wee ordinary [sold ?] att and paid custome for, wee should have our currall released, libertye to buy and sell with whome wee pleased, lycence to transporte our goods of any quallety, and bee restored to our former dwellinge house, and that the Prince his officers should for ever hereafter desist from all pretence of marchandizeing in our comodities'. This is now confirmed, and the money ordered to be taken to him by Rastell

and James. At the same time a separate account is to be kept of this and other sums extorted from them, with a view to their recovery on some future occasion. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF SURAT TO JOHN BANGHAM, PROCEEDING TO AGRA, APRIL 1, 1620 (*O.C.* 848).

He is appointed an assistant either at Agra itself or for 'the Lahore bussynes', as Walter Harvey is too unwell to undertake the journey. To go by way of Ahmadābād and to take in his charge six bales of broadcloth and kerseys. If he finds Robert Young at Ahmadābād, he is to hand over his goods and money to him, and proceed in his company; if not, he is to await 'the Prince his cazzanna' [*see* p. 91], and travel with it or 'the first secure caphila'. Provision of camels for the journey, and carriage of money, if necessary, from Ahmadābād to Agra. In latter case, 'give it out to be quicksilver, under collour whereof it hath proceeded thither, beinge made upp alyke.' Mr. Martin will attend to the customs at Broach. If he makes haste he may there overtake 'a haddee and souldiers of Rostome Chans [Rustam Khān] that conducteth a prisoner'. Directions as to his accounts. (*Signed by Kerridge, Rastell, James, and Heynes.* 2 *pp.*)

EDWARD HEYNES AT SURAT TO JOHN BANGHAM, APRIL 1, 1620 (*O.C.* 849).

Directions for sale of the writer's private trade, consisting of velvet, silks, and damasks, which cost 89 rials. The proceeds should be invested in 'symians' and two carpets, to be sent to Surat by the next caravan. The carpets should, if possible, be five yards by two; 'the flowers and branched woorks are the best in request, if fair; your picturs not soe much desiered.' (*Holograph.* 1 *p.*)

THE SAME TO THE SAME AT AHMADĀBĀD, APRIL 13, 1620 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2086, *f.* 59).

Corrects an error in the invoice of silks entrusted by him to Bangham for sale at Ahmadābād or Agra. Good wishes for his journey. 'Lett the service of God bee your daylie delight, and without doubt Hee will make you prosper in both worlds.' Sends

commendations to Messrs. Robert and John Young, Halstead and Hill. (*Holograph. Endorsed as received in Agra, October 27, 1620. Seal. 1 p.*)

JOSEPH HOPKINSON AT SURAT TO JOHN BANGHAM AT AHMADĀBĀD, APRIL 15, 1620 (*O.C.* 852).

Hopes he has by this time reached Ahmadābād. He is in treaty for the sale of the goods left with him by Bangham, viz. a coat, 'shash' [*see* p. 76 *n.*] and 'pomerin[1]', and will invest the proceeds in English goods on the arrival of the ships, or remit them to Agra, if desired. Disposal of a buckler Bangham left behind him. Hopkinson hears that he and Heynes are to go to Baroda shortly. 'On Sunday night last we were all at the Dutches, where we had such extraordinary cheare as I have seldome sene the like. Yesterday beinge Good Fryday, we here had a sermon; and to morrow at night do feast also the Dutch.' The goods for Burhānpur are nearly ready. 'Since your departure a man here had his head cut of and after hanged uppon a stake, and there he hangeth, for robbinge of a doobee[2].' Remembrances to John and Robert Young, and 'my brother Joseph Walker'. (*Holograph. Endorsed as received April* 19. *Seal.* 1 *p.*)

CONSULTATION HELD AT SURAT BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE AND MESSRS. RASTELL, JAMES, HEYNES, AND HUTCHINSON, APRIL 19, 1620 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 3).

As none of their goods have been sold in Surat since the fleet's departure, and the Governor, notwithstanding the bribe given him, has fined both the brokers and the shroff for buying and selling with them, which has frightened their usual customers, it is decided that James and Hutchinson shall take to Burhānpur for sale a quantity of lead, ivory (including some of 'the smaller sorte called Chan-dahare'), quicksilver, vermilion, amber beads, pearls, sword-blades, &c.; and a further consignment shall be sent to Ahmadābād. 'Further, itt was enordered, wee having received this Governors letter to the Governor of Brodra for investmentts in his towne, that Richard Barber from Baroch forthwith repayre thether to experience the effect therof.' (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

[1] A shawl; see *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., p. 665.

[2] *Dhobī*, a washerman.

[John Bangham at Ahmadābād] to Thomas Kerridge at Surat, April 20, 1620 (*O.C.* 853).

Refers to his letter of the 14th, announcing his safe arrival. Death of John Browne, 'whoe changed this life (noe doubte for a better) yesterdaye morninge,' and was buried in the afternoon. Copy of his will sent by Mr. Bickford herewith. Thanks Kerridge for his kindness, and will be glad to do anything he can for him at Agra. (*Draft.* 1 *p.*)

Consultation held in Surat by President Kerridge and Messrs. Rastell, James, Heynes, and Hopkinson, April 27, 1620 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 4).

Intelligence having yesterday been received from Ahmadābād of the death of John Browne, it is decided that Thomas Rastell shall succeed him as chief of that factory. Giles James is to supply Rastell's place as accountant at Surat, and Joseph Hopkinson is appointed to the charge of the warehouse. Edward Heynes is to proceed to Burhānpur instead of Rastell. Reforms in the Ahmadābād factory discussed. Sanction given to the dispatch to Burhānpur of 10,000 rials in specie and 300 pieces of gold (received last year from Mokha); they are to be packed in the same manner as the quicksilver for greater secrecy. The consignment of goods to Ahmadābād formerly ordered is discussed and again approved. The advisability of sending to the King of Bījāpur to obtain a grant of trade at Dābhol considered; but as the chiefs at the latter port have promised to obtain a grant, and the King is more likely to listen to them than to strangers, it is decided to wait, especially as if they have not effected it, 'there may bee more cullerable reasones to enforce itt, or sattisfaction for the damage that shall arrise.' (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

Consultation held in Surat by President Kerridge and Messrs. Rastell, James, Heynes, and Hopkinson, May 4, 1620 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 5).

Robert Young, dispatched with goods and money for Agra and Lahore, in company with 'the Prince his cazanna', arrived at Ahmadābād two months ago; but as the 'cazanna' is not expected to proceed further until after the rains, it is debated

what Young had better do. It is decided that if he can find a strong caravan going on to his destination, he may take the goods and leave the rials at Ahmadābād to be remitted as soon as possible; or, if a strong body of horsemen be going to Agra or Lahore, he may proceed with the pearl only and leave John Bangham to bring on the goods after the rains. Further, it is determined that, as a caravan was recently robbed on the way to Burhānpur, the money intended for that place shall be detained and only the goods forwarded. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

ROBERT HUGHES AT PATNA TO [THE FACTORS AT AGRA], JULY 12, 1620 (*Factory Records, Patna*, vol. i. p. 1).

[*First part missing.*] Expects to send goods between this and the beginning of October. Carts perform the journey in about thirty-five days, at a charge of Rs. 1¼ or 1½ per maund. He hopes they will dispatch John Bangham shortly with the commodities asked for, as an assistant is necessary. The 'Nabobe[1]' was insistent for three or four cases of empty bottles, so Hughes has given him three small bottles out of his standish. Current prices of goods. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

THE SAME TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JULY 12, 1620 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 2).

'After longe expectation and no cirtayne newes of Mr. Younge and his companies aproche neare Agra (the yeare spendinge so fast), it was thought needfull to dispeede mee for Puttana; and havinge accorded upon a computed some of monnyes for some presant investment, with bills of exchange for 4,000 ru[pees], I departed Agra the 5th June and (thankes bee to God) arived here in safitye the 3d presant, havinge bine on the waye 29 dayes, in which I outran 300 Jehanger courses. Presantlye upon my arivall I procured acceptance of my exchanges, and hope of good payment, theire date beinge expiered; of whose currant performance, when received, I shall advize to Agra. I have since my cominge vizited the Governor Muckrob Con, whoe seemes wonderous plesant for our arivall here, and was as inquisitive to knowe what goods I had brought with mee; wherunto I as exactlye answered that at presant

[1] The Nawāb Muqarrab Khān, who was then Sūbadār of Behar (see p. 9).

I had nothinge, but that what futurlye should come fitinge his circare [*see* p. 160 *n.*] hee should have the first sight of, wherwith hee seemed well contented, and hath given order to serche out for a house for mee, but as yet cannot finde anye convenyent enoughe, yet hope shortlye to bee well seated, thoughe I feare not rent free. The Nabobe is desierous of some cloth and hydes, for which I have advized to Agra for what theye can spare, or maye lye there unvendable; also tapestrye, clothe of tishoo, velvetts, embrodares, fethers, or anye other rich commodities to bee gotten, and hath desiered me to write you to procure him some from the expected fleete, of which yf you maye spayer anye, doubtlese theye wilbe well sould, and your selves knowe him to bee as free in payinge as in buyinge. I have made some enquirye into the commoditye here to bee procured and by you required from England. And first for clothinge (as I have bine enformed, for I have not had tyme yet to make anye experiences), the usiall custome of buyinge the amberty calicoes at Lackhoure[1] (which is the pente[2] or fayer for that commoditye, and is a towne 14 course from this place) is as follows: theye are dalye brought in from the neighboringe gonges[3] by the weaveres, from whome they are bought rawe, of length 13 coveds Jehangery (which is one-fourth longer then the elahye[4] of Agra), from which the buyer, of an antient custome, teares of 1½ or 2 coveds, and soe deliverse them marked to the whitster, whoe detaynes them in whitinge and starchinge about three mounthes, the charge wherof is neare upon 3 ru[pees] per courge[5], and the abatements and disturyes [*see* p. 193 *n.*] in buyinge them rawe from the weaveres $\frac{4}{16}$ per rupye or 25 per cent. In this maner, by reporte,

[1] This appears to be the 'Lukhawur' of the Indian Atlas, a town some thirty miles south of Patna. Mundy, in 1632, mentions amongst the commodities to be purchased at the latter city 'Ambartrees made at Lackhore, Nundownepore, Selimpore, ettc., 12 and 14 corse off: 10¼ co[veds] long and ner one broad' (Brit. Mus. *Harleian MS.* 2286, f. 88). Kenn's notes (about 1661) say: 'At Banares [*sic* ? Behar] 12 course from Pattana, and Lachore, 16, theres white cloth fitt for Persia to be had called Umbertees and Camcanys, from Rs. 1–8a. to 3 rupees per piece, in which commodities are invested by Armenian and Mogull merchants at least ten hundred thousand rupees per annum' (Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 34,123).

[2] Hind. *peṭh* or *penṭh*, 'a market-town.'

[3] Hind. *ganj*, 'a village.'

[4] The *ilāhī gaz* (usually taken as thirty-three inches) instituted by Akbar as a universal measure.

[5] Score.

dalye maye there bee bought 50, 60, and some dayes 100 peeces. Almost in the like nature are theye sould here in Puttanna, beinge likwise brought thence by the weaveres, but readye whited and cured, and the same customes and abatements as in the cuntrye; and by computation here maye bee provided within the space of three or four mounthes, soe bought, and of the broadest sizes, called zeferconyes [1], two or three hundred corge. Of sahannes and hammomes [2] theire are but fewe at presant in towne. Theye are brought from the lower partes of Bengalla in smalle parcells by Puttanes [3]. Other sortes of choutare [4] cloth are not here to bee gotten, unlesse some fewe rahmoutes. What of theise sortes shall come to towne, I shall not slip anye oportunitye for theire procuringe, for the yeare is allreadye so farr spent that it will not permite anye convenyent investments to bee made at Lackhoure in th' ambertyes rawe, the tyme beinge soe shorte for theire dispeed hence, and theye soe tedious in whittinge. Of rawe silke of Bengalla I have sent musteres to Agra, and have entreated, after perusiall, to send them you joyntlye with this my leter. In the paper No. 1 are two skeynes of the first and second sortes, which is the sortes cheflye by the Companye required, and by us provided [at] Agra, which at presant is here to bee bought (wounde of into skeynes of a coved longe) for 5⅛ rupees gross the seare of 34½ pices weight per seare, from which is abated 17 per cent. kessure [5]

[1] Probably Zafar-Khānī, from Zafar Khān, who had been Governor of Behar some years before.

[2] 'Sahans' or 'Sahuns' we have found in the earlier letters, but the name is difficult to account for, unless as Hind. *sahan*, 'enduring.' Among the cotton cloths enumerated in the *Āīn* (Blochmann's ed., vol. i. p. 94) we find 'sahan', but no explanation of the term is given. As for humhums, Mundy, in 1632, speaks of 'hamaones, lynnen, 11 c[oveds] long, 1¾ br[oad], from Oreshaw'; and Mr. Crooke (*Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed.) quotes from Taylor's *Cotton Manufacture of Dacca* a description of them as 'a cloth of a thick stout texture, and generally worn as a wrapper in the cold season'. Pelsart (chief Dutch factor at Agra), writing in February, 1627, enumerates among the products of Orissa 'des *cassen* fort fines, et d'autres toiles nommées en leurs langues *Malmols*, *hamaum*, et *tsehen* [? these *sahans*], qui est une espece de toile fort belle et fort large, qui seroit propre à faire des draps, mais à cause qu'elle est trop fine et trop chere, l'on l'employe rarement à cet usage' (Thevenot's *Relations de divers Voyages*).

[3] Pathāns.

[4] The word seems here to be used of thick calicoes generally; but see Crooke, op. cit., pp. 217, 706.

[5] This seems to be the Hind. *kasar*, 'diminution.' *Dastūrī* ('an agent's percentage') is a familiar term.

and disturye, and will falle out net not above 4¼ rup[ees] the seare of 34½ pices weight. In the paper No. 2 is two skeynes of the third and fourth sortes wee usialye buye in Agra, not wound of aparte, for want of tyme, and is here worth at presant, to bee wound of as the former, 4¼ rup[ees] gross per seare, out of which the prementioned disturye abated, will cost 3 rup[ees] 9 annyes[1] net the seare of 34½ pices weight per seare. Theise are theire presant prizes, betwene which and that wee buye in Agra you will perceave a great diferance in price for theise four sortes, to saye, one-third of the sorte No. 1 and two-thirds of the sorte No. 2 hathe cost us together in Agra neare upon 5¾ rup[ees] net the seare of 30 pices, which here halfe on half th' other maye bee bought for about 4 rup[ee]s net the seare of 34½ pices weight per seare; and I am promised at about theise rates to have delivered in from the silkwynderes 10 or 15 m[aun]ds per mounth, and doubtles a greater quantitye therof maye bee procured, but then wee must venture out some monye before hande, which I resolve upon, findinge sufitient securitye for performance; and herupon have advized them at Agra to desist farther in its investment there, which per computation is at least 35 per cent. derer then here it maye bee bought. Serbandy[2] silke, the best of Mucksoude and Sideabaude,[3] from whence theise sortes are wounde of, is at presant here worthe 100 rup[ees] gross per maunde of 40 seres per maunde and 34½ pices per seare, from which is abated the savoye[4] or 25 per cent.; soe it rests net worth about 75 rupees per m[au]nde net. The brokeridge as well on this as on all other sortes of silke is, by the Nabobes comande, but 5 annes of a rupye per cent. from the buyer and 10 annyes from the seller; but the brokeres doe usialye take one-half per cent. from the buyer and one per cent. from the seller. For

[1] The anna (properly *āna*) was one-sixteenth of a rupee. It was a money of account only.

[2] A puzzling term. From other references (see especially pp. 197, 205, 229) it is evident that Hughes bought the silk in the cocoon. The name, which appears to have gone out of use, is perhaps connected with the Hind. *sarbandī*, 'head-binding,' a fanciful description of the action of the worm in weaving its cocoon.

[3] Maksūdābād (the old name of Murshidābād) and Saidābād, a neighbouring town, now for the most part in ruins.

[4] Hind. *sawāī*, 'an excess of a fourth' (Wilson's *Glossary*).

brokeridge of clothe theye can clayme nothinge as deue from the buyer, onlye his curtizeye; but from the seller theire right is half a pice per rupye. I shall here provide some quiltes of Sutgonge[1], wrought with yellowe silke, at reasonable rates; and have already halfe a score in possession, and am promised more dalye as theye come to towne. There are some Portingalls at presant in towne, and more are latlye gon for theire portes in Bengala; into whose trafiqe I have made enquirye, and gather that theye usialye bringe vendable here all sortes of spices and silke stufes of Chyna, tyne, and some jewelleres ware; in lewe wherof theye transporte course carpets of Junapoore[2], ambertyes, cassaes[3] and some silke. The Mogoles[4] and Praychaes[5] are here like bees, whose cheefest provisiones are mandyles[6], girdells, layches [*see* p. 197 *n.*], and doupattas[7] of Malda; also a sorte of thine cloth called caymeconyes[8] of Beyhare, and are much like unto course cassaes, 14 coveds longe and four-fifths of a coved broade, of 40, 50, and 60 rup[ee]s per courge. Theise are bought for transporte to Lahore, and thence for Persia; samples wherof, and of all other commodityes here to be provided fittinge that trade, I purpose to buye some smalle quantityes of eatch for a tryall. And also ambertyes is a principall of theire investments, for the compasinge wherof theye bringe hether either redy spetya or exchanges. I praye adviz whether th' ambertyes you mention to bee provided rawe are ment as from the loome, without washinge and starchinge, or to bee whited onlye without starche.' He hopes to send a consignment of goods to Agra (by cart, which is the usual method of conveyance) before the beginning of October. He has

1 Satgāon, near Hūglī. 2 Jaunpur.

3 Mundy speaks of 'Ckassaes at Sunargam, 300 corse downe the river Ganges, a fine and thinn cloth'.

4 Merchants from Upper India or Persia.

5 This unusual word is possibly to be explained by the Sanskrit *prāchya*, meaning, like *pūrbiya*, 'an inhabitant of the countries to the eastwards,' i. e. to those at Agra (where Hughes probably learnt the term) the inhabitants of Oudh, Behar, &c. But this is mere conjecture.

6 See p. 73.

7 Hind. *do-paṭṭah*, 'two breadths;' a kind of narrow calico much used for garments. Ufflet, however (see p. 61 *n.*), speaks of 'depottoes, a kind of cloake [cloth?] of gould of 20 ropees per peece,' made at 'Sultanpoore'.

8 Evidently these are the 'camcanys' of Kenn's notes (see p. 192, note 1). They may have been so called after Qāim Khān.

ROBERT HUGHES AT PATNA TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, AUGUST 6, 1620 (*Factory Records, Patna*, vol. i. p. 4).

Has bought some 'ambirtyes' from the weavers of 'Lackhoure' at from one to six rupees net the piece; but the rains have hindered the weavers from bringing in their goods and 'there are latlye come up divers frigitts of Portingalls from Sutgonge, whose merchants buye up all theye can laye hand of'. Had time permitted, it would have been cheaper 'to have bought them rawe from the weaveres and have put them fourthe to whitinge'. 'Lackhower afords greate quantityes of fyne clothe, to saye of four, five, six, eight to ten rupes per peece, and by bespeakinge them and deliveringe monyes out before hand the weaveres will make them a full Jehanger coved broade, which is yeard, halfe quarter[1] English (which breadth, as theye saye, theye cannot exceed, to have them close wrought), but of what reasonable lengths wee shall desier them. . . . Theire breadth are generallye neare upon an elahy coved [*see* p. 192], and broader then your narowe baftas of Baroche. Of sahannes theire come none to towne. Diverse boates are shortlye expected from the lower partes of Bengalla, which by reporte bringe quantitye. I have bought for 400 rupes in tusser stufes of Bengala, of halfe silke, halfe cotten [*see* p. 112]; and of Bicuntpoore[2] layches about 16 courge at 12, 10 and 16 rupes per courge. Theye are 5¼ coveds longe and somwhat more then ¾ broade . . . theye are fitt lenghets for petticotes, cheape, and doubtles will sell in England to good profitt. Theye are made five course hence, infinite quantetyes, and are generallye bought up by the Mogolles for Persia.' He has made further inquiry regarding Bengala silk, and now sends samples which he has 'wounde of from the serbandy' [*see* p. 194], of which he bought a maund for trial. He finds that 'the cheapest and surest dealinge is to buye the serbandye and wynde it of my selfe . . . and at present have thirty men at worke theron, pur-

[1] i.e. about forty inches, as mentioned later.

[2] Baikanthpur, ten miles east of Patna. Mundy speaks of 'Tuckrees or Becutporees, a thinn silke stript stuffe 4 cov. longe and 7/8 broad, at Becutpore 5 course off' (*Brit. Mus. Harl. MS.* 2286). Under *elatches* (*Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., p. 707) Mr. Crooke quotes Platts' *Hind. Dict.* as defining *ilāchā* as 'a kind of cloth woven of silk and thread so as to present the appearance of cardamoms (*ilāchī*)', but thinks that it is really identical with *alleja*.

posinge to increase them to a hundred, and yf you aprove therof and the price (which is ⅓ cheaper then in Agra), I may have two or three hundred silkwinderes to worke in the house all the yeare'. He proposes also to dye and dress some of the coarser sorts into 'sleave silke[1]' for England. 'I have taken a house in the greate bazare, neare unto the Cutwalls [*see* p. 48 *n.*] choutrye[2]; the rent 6½ rupes per month.' He has not yet heard from Agra. Hopes to invest the rest of his money in 'ambertyes, of which commoditye the partes about Lackhoure afords such quantitye that (by the weaveres reportes) daly 1,000 peeces are taken from theire loomes; and without question you maye have 50,000 rupes yearlye invested therin'. *Annexed*: 'The verourd[3] or proportion wound of from a sere of serbandy raw silke, containing 34½ pices weight the sere.' Details of the cost of the various specimen skeins sent. Three of the sorts are named 'shekesty', 'cattaway,' and 'gird'. (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

ROBERT HUGHES AT PATNA TO THE FACTORS AT AGRA, SEPTEMBER 3, 1620 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 6).

He received yesterday theirs of August 9, with a second of exchange for Rs. 2,500 at 41 days. Perceives they discourage his silk investment, but he is confident he can turn it out at cheap rates. 'I have encreased my Cor Conna[4] to almost a hundred workmen; but here I will stop untill I here further from Surrat.' He has bought about a dozen quilts of 'Sutgonge', trimmed them with silk fringe tassels and lined them partly with taffeta and partly with 'tessur'. Exchange [with Surat?] higher at Patna than at Agra. 'Champseye[5]' is the chief banker at Patna. Next year he will provide brown 'ambertyes', as desired. No news yet of Parker, who he understands is on his way to Patna with the goods asked for. Urges a plentiful supply of money. No spikenard to

[1] Floss or unspun silk.

[2] More familiar under the form *choultry*: a shed used as a resting-place for travellers or for the transaction of public business. The word is generally supposed to be peculiar to Southern India (see *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v.).

[3] Hind. *barāward*, 'an estimate, calculation, or abstract.'

[4] Pers. *kārkhāna*, 'a workshop.'

[5] Elsewhere he is called 'Chumpeyshaw' [Champā Shāh?], and it is said that he has a son at Agra in the same business.

be got here at present. 'It comes out of the northe cuntry in the could wether.' (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, SEPTEMBER 4, 1620 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 8).

To the same effect as the foregoing. He adds a request for some 'fyne goods and toyes' for the Governor, who is very earnest for a supply from the next fleet. 'Hee groweth rich, and no feare but that hee will paye well and a good price.' (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE FACTORS AT AGRA, SEPTEMBER 14, 1620 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 9).

Has received their letters and bills; and has also heard from Parker at 'Aughmull surraye[1], two dayes journye shorte of Bannarse'. Notes the instructions from Surat regarding purchase of 'ambertyes', &c. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

ROBERT HUGHES AND JOHN PARKER AT PATNA TO THE FACTORS AT AGRA, OCTOBER 6, 1620 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 10).

Parker has arrived. The goods he brought were somewhat damaged by the rain; but they have sold some to the Nawāb, and are in treaty for others. Their provisions for the year are now finished and total Rs. 7,500. The goods were sent off on the 4th in four carts under the charge of ten men, who have undertaken to deliver them in Agra within thirty days, for two rupees per 'Jehanger maunde'; if they fail in point of time they are to have only Rs. 1⅝ per maund, 'the price now cut of the caravan, which goeth in forty dayes.' Particulars of the silk sent as samples. 'The crimson is died in lack, and all the rest of the colleres carrarye[2].' Parker has invested about Rs. 1,000 at 'Lackhoure'. *P.S.*—'With our goods wee have sent a cupell of pratlinge birds called mynnas, which wee have bought to bee sent to the Company, and intreate you carre maye bee taken for theire convayence to Surratt.'[3] (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

[1] Mundy calls this place 'Ahumohol ca Sara'. It is not to be traced on the map, but from Mundy's route it may be placed on the Allahabad-Benares road, about half-way between Surai Jugdees and Surai Baboo.

[2] Hind. *qarārī*, 'firm,' 'stable.'

[3] The Company always impressed upon their servants the desirability of bringing home strange birds and beasts for presentation to the King or the great men at court (*First*

ROBERT HUGHES AND JOHN PARKER AT PATNA TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, OCTOBER 6, 1620 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 11).

Parker arrived about the middle of last month. Part of the goods he brought have been delivered 'into the Nabobes circare', but no price has yet been fixed. Quicksilver sold. They have received in all from Agra Rs. 9,500, and have dispatched goods costing Rs. 7,500. From the balance they intend to invest at 'Lackhour' in raw 'ambertyes'. Details of the samples of silk. They have also sent as musters 'eight peeces camsukes[1], whited onlye without starch, and ten peeces with starch, all provided at Lackhoure'. Conveyance to England of the two mynas. Plenty of lignum-aloes here at Rs. 1⅝ the seer of 33 pices. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

'THE FACTORS OF SURRATT TO THE FACTORS OF PERSIA,' OCTOBER 18, 1620 (*Abstract only. Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i. p. 70).

Arrival of a Dutch ship[2] from Bantam with a cargo worth 10,000*l.*, and news of the accord between the English and Dutch. Account of the late hostilities. The Company had expected a larger

Letter Book, pp. 130, 301, &c.). Roe on his return presented James with 'two antelopes [and] a straunge and beautifull kind of red deare' (*Embassy*, p. 521), and we hear from time to time of other animals and birds sent home for the same purpose.

The 'pratlinge birds' here referred to were more probably grackles than mynas, though both species are well known for their imitative powers. They are often kept in India as cage-birds on this account. When Peter Mundy went to Patna in 1632 he met on the way some servants of the Dīwān of that place, who were carrying to the Mogul 'some ten or twelve maynas, a bird of Bengalia which learneth to speake verie plaine, in coullour and forme like a blackbird, but thrice as bigg' (*Brit. Mus. Harl. MS.* 2286).

It is not known whether these birds reached England. The first reference to a grackle in this country that has been noticed is the talking bird 'from the East Indys' which Pepys saw in the Duke of York's chamber in 1664 (see Wheatley's ed., vol. iv. p. 118, where instances are given of mynas being brought to England in the early part of the eighteenth century).

[1] Possibly *kam-sūkhā*, 'slightly dried' (or 'partly prepared').

[2] The *Wapen van Zeeland*, in which Pieter van den Broecke had been dispatched (June, 1620) from Batavia as Director for Arabia, Persia, and India. He arrived at Aden in August, and landed some merchants with orders to journey by land to Mokha and open a factory there; and he then proceeded to Surat, which was reached on October 1 (N.S.). There he established his head quarters, and proceeded to set on foot sub-factories at Broach, Ahmadābād, and Cambay. See his *Reysen* (Amsterdam, 1648), p. 101, and *Valentyn*, vol. iv. pt. 2, p. 222.

return from Persia last year, and 'if you performe not this yere you will give them small incouragement to contynue that trade, which hitherunto hath yelded no proffit, but great charges'. No Indian goods sent this year; and the Bantam factors require further advice before dispatching any of their commodities to Persia. The fleet should be sent back to Surat as speedily as possible. The goods already provided at Surat for England include 1,200 churls of indigo, 12,000 pieces of broad baftas, 24,000 pieces of 'duttes', and 60,000 pieces of narrow baftas, besides semianoes, carpets, &c. Nothing provided for the southwards. Disposal of the quicksilver, tin, coral, cloth, &c., brought from home last year. 'The King, Queene, and Prince have paid their debts.' Surat factory is in debt 100,000 mahmūdīs. Rs. 2,000 of the old Agra debt recovered, and the rest declared by Biddulph to be safe. Rs. 3,162 charged on Surat by the Achin factory. 'It is most needefull that our masters at home take good consideracion to send men of good faculty to match with Coen, for he wilbe too cunnyng for our people there.' Overpayment to Richard Sanders, the surgeon, to be recovered at home. (¾ *p.*)

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE AND MESSRS. JAMES, MARTIN, AND HOPKINSON[1], OCTOBER 27, 1620 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 6).

The fleet from England not having arrived, and the factory being in debt about 100,000 'mamoothes' for money borrowed, it is decided to draw from Ahmadābād and Burhānpur all the money there available, to satisfy their Surat creditors, who are pressing for payment. It is also determined to lower the price of their coral, ivory, &c., in order to provide funds, both for the purpose already mentioned and for the purchase of commodities to be sent to the southwards. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

ROBERT HUGHES AT PATNA TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, OCTOBER 31, 1620 (*Factory Records*, *Patna*, vol. i. p. 13).

They have now sold most of their goods to the Nawāb 'to good profitt, in all for 2,400 rupes, for which wee have got out a berate[2]'.

[1] He notes that he is both 'Register' and a member of the council.

[2] Hind. *barāt*, 'an order for payment.'

ROBERT I
PRESIDENT
vol. i. p. 11).

Parker a
goods he l
but no
have rec
goods co
at 'Lack
They ha
onlye w
Lackho
of ligni

'TI
OCTO
vol. i.

A
10,0
Ac

Le
[a
tir

bo
co
w

of islands[1], but could find no ground for anchoring, though a few of the natives came aboard. October 11. Saw the coast of India. October 14. Guided by some fishermen, they anchored near 'Baccanor[2]', whence they obtained some refreshments. October 18. Set sail. October 26. Put into Dābhol. November 2. Set sail. November 6. The *Hart* and *Eagle* departed for Persia. November 9. The *London* and *Roebuck* anchored in Swally Road, where they found the *Wappen* [*see* p. 200], a Dutch ship of 1,000 tons. The President and Messrs. James and Hopkinson came on board the same evening. November 10. Consultation held, at which it was decided to follow the *Hart* and *Eagle* for their protection against the Portuguese. About noon the *Wappen* sailed for Bantam. November 11. Fourteen chests of rials sent up to Surat under a guard of twenty-four musketeers. November 12. Mīrzā Muhammad Yār, brother of the Governor of Broach, and his two nephews insisted on going on board the ships, in spite of Kerridge's efforts to induce them to postpone their visit. They lodged aboard the *London* that night, and the next day went over the *Roebuck*, after which they departed 'exceedinglie well contented'.[3] (25½ *pp.*)

ARCHIBALD JEMISON'S[4] ACCOUNT OF HIS VOYAGE FROM LONDON TO SURAT (*Marine Records*, vol. xxxii).

1620, March 25. Sailed from the Downs. April 3. 'The Bantam fleete lefte us this night of purpose.' June 24. Anchored at the Cape. July 25. Sailed again. July 27. Spoke two Dutch ships. October 6–9. Saw several islands, but were carried to leewards of them. October 14. Anchored on the coast of India in lat. 13° 31′ N. October 18. Sailed again. October 26. Anchored at Dābhol, where they remained until November 2. November 9. Anchored in Swally Road, where they found the *Wappen van Zeeland* from the Red Sea, who sailed the next day.[5] (9 *pp.*)

[1] The Laccadives. Swan appends a chart.
[2] Barkūr, in South Kanara, forty-two miles north of Mangalore.
[3] The journal is continued on p. 220.
[4] Or Jamieson. He was master's mate in the *London*, Shilling's flagship. His journal contains little more than nautical observations.
[5] The journal is continued on p. 226.

CONSULTATION HELD ON BOARD THE *LONDON* BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE, CAPTAIN ANDREW SHILLING, GILES JAMES, RICHARD SWAN, WILLIAM BAFFIN[1], AND JOSEPH HOPKINSON, NOVEMBER 10, 1620 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 7).

By the Company's orders, two of the vessels of the fleet, the *Hart* and the *Eagle*, were dispatched direct to Jask on the 6th current. Kerridge points out the danger of an attack from the four Portuguese galleons dispeeded from Lisbon in 1619, which spent some time in Mozambique, 'and in Aprill last attended the Red Sea tradors within the straightes of Mocha, where they robbed such of them as they coulde meete (not havinge their lycence to trade), and havinge performed that exployte proceeded for Ormus,' intending to capture any English ships that might come to Persia this year. It is decided, therefore, that the two remaining ships shall stay at Swally only long enough to land their cargoes and take in provisions, and shall then sail to Jask to protect their consorts. It is also determined that, as the Prince has forbidden the landing of any more coral, that brought by the fleet shall be kept on board, the factors intending, if possible, during the absence of the ships, to obtain permission to land it at their return. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

ROBERT HUGHES AT PATNA TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, NOVEMBER 11, 1620 (*Factory Records*, *Patna*, vol. i. p. 13).

In answer to theirs of September 5. Regarding the small quantity purchased of 'amberty callicoes', he explains that 'buyinge them at the left hand, to saye, from the weaveres which bringes them readye whited to towne in smalle parcells', he could not get more than a thousand pieces; 'what the weaveres bringes readye to towne is onlye to serve the bazare, and merchants that make theire provisions abroade will not sell here for halfe a savoye [*see* p. 194] profitt, but transporte them for Agra, Lahore, &c., where theye make a far greater gayne.' 'Those I provided here, bought from the weaveres, was accordinge to custom of the buzare, bothe for price and allowance, which is a savoye per cent. . . . and makes 20 per cent. diferance or abaitment, to saye, for 100 rupes gross wee payed 80 net, which is the 4 aneys or $\frac{4}{16}$ distury.'

[1] William Baffin, the celebrated Arctic navigator, was master of the *London*, Shilling's flagship.

Details of the various sorts of 'ambertyes'. Twenty thousand pieces may be provided yearly. 'Herin maye bee bothe some tyme and charges gayned yf you aprove to have some of them caumsoucks [*see* p. 200] and onlye washt out of theire grease or mandye[1] and no starche; but to send them you rawe as from the loome, wee are cirtaynlye perswaded theire thred will rott before theye come to your hands.' 'The disturies in buyinge it browne at Lackhoure is as the merchant makes it. Some cut of a savoye, some halfe a savoye, some a rupeye per peece, and some buye it for nett. . . . The custome of tearinge of the reza[2] from the length of the browne amberty is more benifitiall to the merchant here, by its sayle aparte, then the length of the remaynder can advantage by its seeminge fyner, and is at least ten per cent.; which in theire gaynes theye accompt not of, but allot it to the defrayinge theire charges and curinge of the rest; which custom wee neither have nor purpose to follow, but to white the intier pece as bought from the loome. Theye are not all of one exacte length, but some come out shorter then others by a coved, and generalye maye bee 13 coveds Jehanger longe or of Puttanna, betwene which and the coved of Lackhoure is some small diferance, the country coved beinge the longer by allmost a giery[3] or $\frac{1}{16}$. In buyinge the browne cloth the buyer payeth no brokeridge; but in the sayle of the clothe the brokeres inhanceth five pices in eatche peece of what price soever; wherof the brokeres share two pices, two pices the Governor or Shekdare[4] of the prigony [*see* p. 170 *n.*], and one pice they retorne back to the merchant; which custome is very large, and wee shall endevor yf possible to reduce it to lesse.' In deference to the opinion of the Surat Council, conveyed by the Agra factors, he has desisted from providing Bengal silk; but he is still of opinion that 'to buye the silke rawe as it comes in serbandy from Bengalla and wynde it of here in Puttanna into the condition the Companye ayme at' would prove very profitable. He could supply thirty maunds per month. Sleeve silk will cost, dressed and dyed, Rs. 4 net the seer of 33½ [*sic*] pices. 'For other sortes of

[1] *Māndī* is Hind. for 'starch', but that does not seem to be the meaning intended here.
[2] See p. 192. Hind. *reza* is a 'scrap' or 'fragment'.
[3] Hind. *girih*, 'a sixteenth of a *gaz*.'
[4] Hind. *shiqdār*, the revenue officer for a small tract of country.

callico cloth, as sahanes and hammomes, wee perceave them not to bee brought hether in anye greate quantities. . . . For tusser stufes, 40 or 50 corge yerlye. And wares for Persia (of which wee have sent you some sampels) greate quantities of all sortes; 100,000 rupes speedilye imployed therin. Lignom aloes, also good quantitye, wherof likwise wee sent a sampell of the ordinarye sorte knowne here by the name of simmulye[1]. . . . Of this commoditye there is here of diverse sortes and prizes from 20 rupes per maunde to 40 and 50 rupes per seare [*sic*]. . . . The caymeconyes [*see* p. 195] of Beyhare I with you acord to bee a commoditye fitter for Persia then England, yet as fit for Barbary or Turkey as anye other place.' Specimens of 'Sutgonge' quilts sent, 'bought at such reasonable rates that wee expecte good muzera [*see* p. 126 *n.*] for them from the Companye. Theye are not made here, but brought from the bottom of Bengala. . . . Other sortes of quiltes are not here to bee gotten of any kinde.' The Nawāb has partly paid for the goods he bought, and the rest of the money is expected shortly. They are investing the proceeds in 'ambertyes', &c. If 'Banarse mandiles[2]' are wanted, 'it is from hence but a step thether, where doubtles wee may furnishe you with more varietye and at farr better rattes then Agra can aforde.' (*Copy.* 3 *pp.*)

THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, NOVEMBER 15, 1620 (*Abstract only. Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i. p. 70).

The *Lion* sailed for England on February 24 with a cargo costing 560,589 mahmūdīs. The *Charles*, *Ruby*, and *Diamond* left for the southwards on March 15 with goods [from Surat] invoiced at 139,000 mahmūdīs. Arrival of the *London* and *Roebuck* at Swally on November 9, the *Hart* and *Eagle* having gone direct for Jask. Their goods landed, except the lead and three chests of money. Of ivory a thousand maunds will be sufficient in future. 'The dispatch of your ships so late in the yere from London for Surrat brought great dyscommodytye. Theis were inforced to go without St. Laurance Iland, &c. Four gallions of warr from Lisbone do lye in waight in the Gulph of Persia for our ships; which gallions

[1] The commonest sort of lignum-aloes is termed *samaleh*.

[2] *Mandīls* (see p. 73) from Benares.

were a part of ten sent out of Lisbone in anno 1618 and winterd at Sophola, then went into the Red Sea to intercept the junckes, thereby to reduce the Indians into conformity and subjection, intending to remayne thereaboutes and live upon prizes. Unto those four gallions the Vice Roy of Goa sendeth two more to strengthen them, whereupon the *London* and *Robuck* went also towardes Persia to joine with the *Hart* and *Eagle*. No goodes provided at Surrat for Persia. Our four ships canot be expected to retorne from Jasques unto Surratt till aboute the 10th of February, and feare it wilbe the middle of March before they can be freed from Surrat. They will stop the Surratt junckes untill our ships be cleared from thence, and untill some satisfaction be made us for their manifold wrongs done us. No hope to sende one ship to the Red Sea this yere. The last yers corrall is unsould, but hope speedily to dispatch it; an honest gaine is offred for it. The goodes prepared at Surrat will (if Jasques yeldeth anie good supply) lade home two ships, which you maie expect, and one to be sent to Sumatra, and one for Bantam, except they shall resolve to send one covertlie for the Red Sea; if so, then the *London* will serve Sumatra and Bantam too. John Browne died the 19 of Aprill, whome Thomas Rastell succeedeth. Thomas Kerridge purposeth to retourne home in the first ships. William Beddulph canot come downe from the court this yere. The Decann making warrs nere Brampore stoppeth all passages.' (1 *p.*)

WILLIAM METHWOLD AT MASULIPATAM TO THE COMPANY, NOVEMBER 15, 1620 (*Abstract only. Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 55).

'He understandeth the Companies displeasure against him [1], and bemoaneth his ill condicion to be evillie accompted of, and no accusation, whereby no satisfaction can by him be made till his retourne. He professeth not to be guiltie of anie desert of just displeasure, and therefore doubteth not but to finde you indifferent judges.' Randall Jesson went from Masulipatam to Mokha, intending to go home by way of Cairo.[2] 'A diamond myne latelie discovered

[1] On October 23, 1618, the Court resolved to recall Methwold, who was charged with abetting one of the factors at Tiku in wronging the Company.

[2] He successfully accomplished his adventurous journey. On March 10, 1620, the Court voted gratuities to Jesson and another for smuggling coral on board some ships at Zante and thus saving 100*l*. in customs duties.

within four daies journey of Mesulpatann, yelding store of diamondes.[1] He bought and sent to Jaquatra a parcell of diamondes by George Balls advise and expence, unto whome he doth attribute the credit thereof, if they give you content; as also some beasar stones. He meaneth to go forward in buying of diamondes, so farr as his comission given him for trade in cloath will permit, for he must not neglect that. He hath written to Jaquatra for the Presidents advise therein, and for supply; for howsoever he confesseth to have a cavidall of 60,000 rials, which maie seeme great, yet it is in unvendible goodes, as purslan, lead, allum, brass, China silk, broad cloathes, &c. The quantitie of purslane landed there doth glutt the markett; wishing the greatest part was sent for Persia, Surrat and Mocha, where it will sell well. The trade of Musulpatan will produce proffitt if it be seasonably followed, in spices, Lanquin silk and some such other China commodities.' Value of spices at Masulipatam. 'He sent patternes of all sortes of callicoes to Surrat to be sent for England; with the value whereof to the southwardes he is not made acquainted but by informacion of private traders only, who confesse they triple their principall between that place and Bantam. The Hollanders do buy that countrie indico countinually, and a sort of corse callicoes of 50 [ ] long, Holland bredth, in great quantityes.' He sent particulars of the latter to Bantam, but has received no instructions. 'James Cartwright was arived at Musilpatan for a second to Mr. Methwold

[1] In his *Relations of the Kingdome of Golchonda* (printed as a supplement to the 1626 edition of Purchas's *Pilgrimage*), Methwold narrates the discovery of the mine by 'a silly goat-herd keeping his flock amongst those mountaines', and also describes a journey which he himself and two Dutchmen made to the place, 'situated at the foot of a great mountayne, not farre from a river called Christena.' Dr. Valentine Ball identifies it with Tavernier's 'Coulour', i. e. the now deserted workings at Kollūr, on the Kistnā, whence the Kohinūr is said to have been obtained.

Methwold says that 'in anno 1622 the myne was shut up and all persons restrained from frequenting the place. The reasons some imagined to be their care to keepe the commoditie in request, not to digge more until those already found were dispersed; others affirmed the comming of the Mogulls Embassadour to this King's court, with his peremptory demand of a vyse of the fairest diamonds, caused this cessation, untill that pretence and some competent present should content the Mogull; for since I came from thence I heare it was opened againe, but almost exhausted, and very few found.'

Fernão de Albuquerque, Governor of Goa, writing to his sovereign on February 18, 1622, mentions the story of the Mogul's demand and the consequent closing of the mine (*Lisbon Transcripts* at I. O.; *Books of the Monsoons*, vol. v); see also the letter from Burhānpur of November 18, 1621, *infra*.

[*see* p. 196], and brought the newes of peace made in England with the Dutch, but brought not the articles; with which newes he received advise to go forward in trade. He meanes to retourne home by the next, hoping your call will excuse his retourne before his covenanted yeres be expired. The factors which were sent to Pegu[1] to recover what was there remayning have spent all that was sent both first and last. They have framed and exhib[it]ed a formelesse and false accompt, which he hath nowe sent home. Forrest, one of those Pegu factors, makes himself indebted for the rest, for so much lost at dice. The[y] spent all and yet tooke up 100 rials per exchange, which must be paid; for 60 rials whereof he had a pawne, which they saie belonged to Mr. Denton. Theis Pegu factors were fownde to be royotous, vitious and unfaithfull; some of their owne papers doe evince them, which with their persons are sent to Jaquatra. Their accompts were forged at sea, and all their originall papers they did cast overboard, least coming to light they might have disclosed all their untruthes. Forrest attempted to flee twice but was fetcht againe; a vearie villane, debaucht, most audacious and dishonest. I forbeare to send the accompt of his expence etc., bicause he is more worthy to be punishd then able to satisfy. The retourne of all the Pegu adventure, first and last, is about 857 rials. The first adventure was made by the seventh viage, but tourned over to the first joint stocke. The second adventure was made by the second joint stocke. To pay both there is no more but 857 rials, which he will imploye in diamondes and bring with him. He thincks it not impertinent to send a small ship to some of the King of Pegues portes, being that King[s] speciall desire. The mayne of Musilpatan is much troubled with civill warrs, which maketh so bad doings.' (1¼ *pp.*)

MATTHEW DUKE AT MASULIPATAM TO THE COMPANY, NOVEMBER 15, 1620 (*Abstract only. Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 56).

Arrival of Cartwright. The trade of Petapoli commended. The Dutch refused to carry to Jakatra the calicoes bought by the English last season. He has now invested money for twenty fardles of calico and the same quantity of dyed yarn. Lack of advice from Jakatra. 'He doubteth that Pellicat will not prove profitable

[1] See above, pp. 43, 154; also Methwold's narrative already mentioned.

the rest that goe from thence) then to adventure the same through a rebbells cuntrie, where noe sattisfaction nor justice can bee had for any outrage, the rather to bee avoyded for that certaine Mogulls passinge lately that waie with comodeties of good valleu were robbed of all that ever they carried, and can have noe restitution. And for our saufer proceedinge in this resolution itt is enordered that a letter from us shalbe directed to the generall of the Decans forces besigeinge Brampoare, to require his saufe conducte for the said goods through all places of dainger, which letter Edward Heynes shalbe enordered to deliver unto the generall, and entreat his saufe conducte as aforesaid; and that hee bee not expossed to any dainger herby, hee shall first acquainte Chan Chana [*see* p. 59 *n.*], or his principall officer, with such our purpose. Itt is furthermore ordayned that Edward Heynes, haveing procured the said saufe conducte, shall dispeed Robert Hutchinson therewith unto Mando, to accompanie the caphilla till itts arrivall in Brampoare; and for that we are informed that betwene Mando and Assere[1], which last is but seven course from Brampoare, there is little or noe dainger, the whole caphilla shall come thither all in company, and beinge there, tis held fitt first to experyence the validetie of the said saufe conducte by convayeing fifty or sixty of the said camells (with the greatest parte of those pions [*see* p. 145 *n.*] that attend the whole) unto Brampoare, and leave the camellmen, with some fewe of the pions appointed to attend itt, in Assere; which if the first succed well and accordinge to our hopes, Robertt Hutchinson with all the pions shall returne unto Assere and fetch the resedue. But if Edward Heynes can procure from the aforesaid generall a secure convoye (which hee is to endeavor) then shall Robert Hutchinsone bringe the caphilla all att once from Assere to Brampoare, and from thence dispeede the same hitherward, with the said conducte ore convoye, with all possible expedition. But if neither saufe conducte nor convoy can bee procured, then of necessetie the goods must remaine in Mando untill alteration of the time shall administer occation for itts saufe cuming thence.' (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

[1] Asīrgarh, a fortress about thirty miles south-west of Khandwā, the chief town of the Nimār district of the Central Provinces. It was captured by Akbar in 1600.

Robert Hughes and John Parker at Patna to the Company, November 30, 1620 (*Factory Records*, *Patna*, vol. i. p. 16).

'Your Worships in your last yeares letters dated the 15th February and 6th March, 1618 [1619], sent by the *Charles*, *Ruby* and *Dyamond*, earnestly requiringe quantity of commodityes fittinge England, and theire provisiones to bee made in such places as give best hopes, as well for attayninge quantitye as also for theire procuringe to best advantage for price, condition ettc., amongst sondrye other newe imployments thought on by the President and Councell in Surratt, after dispeede of the *Lyon* the last yeare for England, theye enordered some experience to bee made in the partes of Bengalla, for that by reporte it promised good store of callico clothinge, rawe silke, ettc., the commodites by Your Worships most desiered; for which cause theye appoynted Robert Hughes to bee sent from the Agra factory to Puttanna, the chefest marte towne of all Bengala, apoynting him likewise an assistant then in Surratt, but afterwards sent up for Agra in companye of Robert Younge; whoe beinge longe detayned in Ahmadavad, for want of company wherwith to proceed for Agra, spent a greate parte of the yeare there; wherof wee having notice in Agra, the tyme spendinge so fast, and the waye betwene Puttanna and Agra somwhat teadious, it was thought requisite to dispeede Robert Hughes before, and th' assistant to followe him upon advice of the necesitye. And havinge acorded upon a computent some of monnyes for some preasant trialls, with bills of exchange importinge 4000 ruppes, hee departed Agra the 5th June, and after 29 dayes travell arived here in Puttanna the 3d Jully, where havinge procured acceptance of his exchanges, and made some inquisition into the hoped good here to bee efected, and upon good information beinge acirtayned that this place to good purpose might bee established a factory, hee fourthwith advized Surrat and Agra therof, and intreted the sendinge his assistant and by him some English goods which in Agra laye unvendable, with more suplye of monyes, to proceede in provision of what goods might posiblye bee compased tymelye to be sent hence this yeare for Surrat and England; of which advize and information the Agra factors approved, and in place of John Bangam, which was proceeded with Robert Younge for

Lahore, theye sent hether John Parker, and by him the goods advized for, whoe came hether about the midst of September; before and since whose arivall what wee have efected in our provisions, ettc., wee will proceed to give Your Worships notice.' Account of goods purchased and forwarded to Agra. 'The amberty callicoes are made a dayes journye from this place in a prigonye [*see* p. 170] or shier called Lackhower [*see* p. 192], where theye are to bee bought of all prizes, infinite quantityes, from the poore weaveres which make them, browne, wherof theire are three sortes; the first narrow bredthes, and are commonlye called rasseyes, generallye corce, and fewe or none above two rup[ee]s net the peece of about halfe a yeard broade and 13 yeards longe; the next sorte are called zefferconnyes [*see* p. 193], and at most may bee one-fourth broader then the former, but much fynner and of hyer prizes, from two to six rup[ee]s per peece; and the third and last sorte the broadest and fynnest, knowne here by the name of Jehangeres [1], wherof some are a full English yarde and few or none above; neither can the weaveres convenientlye mak them broader (as themselves saye) to have them substantialye and close woven.' The best and cheapest course would be to buy them raw, and have them bleached afterwards. Ten or fifteen thousand pieces might easily be procured. The finer sorts 'are a good sorte of cloth, havinge no other faulte but wante of breadth'. A thin cloth like 'callico lawnes' is also procurable in good quantities. Samples of raw silk sent. They can provide it cheaper than in Agra by 30 per cent., viz. Rs. $4\frac{5}{16}$ the seer of $33\frac{1}{2}$ pices ('which seare is neare about $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds English or haberdepoiz') against Rs. $5\frac{3}{4}$ the seer of 30 pices in Agra. The supply has been approved from Surat, and they hope to provide 300 maunds yearly. 'Amberty callicoes' and raw silk are 'the two mayne propes which must uphould this a factory'. They have sold most of their English goods to the Governor. 'The Portingalls of late yeares have had a trade here in Puttana, cominge up with theire friggitts from the bottom of Bengalla, where theye have two porttes, th' one called Gollye [2], and th' other Pieppullye [3], and therin are licenced by this

[1] These, it appears from another letter, were priced from three to twelve rupees.

[2] Hūglī. Godinho calls it 'Golim', and Bernier 'Ogouli', which are both pretty near the form here given.

[3] Pipplī, in Balasor district.

kinge to inhabitt. Gollye is theire cheefest porte, where theye are in greate multitudes, and have yearlye shippinge both from Mallacka and Cochine. The commodites theye usiallye bringe up hether is for the most part tyne, spices, and China wares, in lewe wherof theye transporte ambertye callicoes, carpets, and all sortes of thine cloth, which theye die into redds purposlye for saile to the sothwards. This cittye stands upon the river Ganges, whose suifte currant transportes theire friggits with such dexteritye that in five or six dayes theye usiallye go hence to theire portes, but in repairinge up agayne spend thrice the tyme.' Their journal, accounts, &c., sent to Surat for conveyance to England. 'Your Worships in some of your former letters requiringe strange birds of this countrye, wee have this yeare sent you a cuppell called Mynoes[1], bred in the bottom of Bengalla, and have intreded carre to bee taken for theire conveyence from Agra to Surrat, that theye maye come safe to your hands.' (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

JOSEPH HOPKINSON AT SURAT TO JOHN BANGHAM AT AGRA OR ELSEWHERE, DECEMBER 2, 1620 (*O. C.* 907).

Has received his letter of August 26 from Lahore, besides an earlier one, dated from under a tree on his way thither. Has also had one from Mr. Young, from which he perceives their speedy investing of their moneys and Bangham's departure with the goods for Agra, where he will find orders for his return to Surat. Not that there will be much need of factors at the latter place, for the Company have required but a small quantity of indigo, carpets, and 'samanas'. The Company have given order 'for arrest of the junks of this place. And for English newes you maie please to understand that four shipps w[ere] heare, sent forth by our masters for this place and Persia, viz. the *London*, *H*[*art*], *Robucke*, and *Eagle*; their masters names you will perceive by the abstract of the invoice now sent; over whome Captain Shilling is comander, and in [them] Mr. Darrell, Mr. Tomson, Mr. Offley, and Mr. Clarke factors. They ca[me to the] Cape in company of three more shipps English, ordained for Bantam, viz. the *Exchange*, *Beare*, and *Unitie*, over whom, and this fleete also till their parting company,

[1] See p. 199.

Captain Fitzherbert was comander, now gon for Bantam to [be] cheiffe at sea after Captain Pringe going home. These [found the *Lion*?] at the Cape, and all her men in reasonable good health. The *Lyon* coming thither found nine saile of Dutch, and being fearfull anchored under [Penguin] Iland; and after the Dutch had two or three times sent a boate to them, and [at] last also the articles of peace betwixt us and them, shee waighed [into the] road, and was by them watered, cawked, and supplied with large [provi]-sions of refreshing, and sett saile thence for England the daie after [the] fleet arrived there, which was the 25th June. Captain Fitz-herbert, [fear]ing the Dutch to intend a plantation at Cape, prevented them and so[lemnly] proclaimed our king King of Soldania and raised a great mount [and] named it King James his Mount. These four shipps came thence the 25th [July], not haveing any refreshing. And haveing contrarie windes on this [side of] the Cape, they consulted to goe on the outside of St. Lawr[ence] Iland; if they had not done, they affirme they should not have arrived till next yeare. The first land they fell with was Baccanore, whence they came on along the coast to Dabull, and there staying a weeke, putt of all their private trade at good rates, insomuch [that] there is scarce a kniffe or a swordblade in the fleete. About [the 6th of November] they dispeeded the *Hart* and *Eagle* for Persia, whither they were expressly [commanded] by the Company; the *London* and *Roebuck* arriving here the 9th, and [set sail] after them the 19th November, to rejoyne with the other two. [ ] Sir Thomas Roes errour, who it seemes made the Company beleeve all the Por[tugalls] in India were dead; else they would have held fitt the shipps for Persia should have had the advice of their better experienced factors, as well for their Persian supplies as better prevention of any plott or force of [the Portugalls]. I pray God protect them, for we have certaine advice of four [ ] men of warre resideing about Ormus of purpose to expect our shipps at Jasques; and if we had sent any shipp this yeare to Red Sea, it is certaine shee had been attempted by them; and if (as I doubt not) these by their rejoyneing escape, it is more by the providence of God, and the experience [of the] servants of the Company here, then Sir Thomas Roes project. But it is reported he is highly esteemed by most of the Company who least

understand their owne bussines, and had 2,000*l.* gratuity and 200*l.* annuitie given him so long as he lives[1], and is entertained a Committie at large; but therein they have done well, and if they would make their returning servants Committies that know their affaires, it maie be their bussines would be better ordered.' Bangham's friend, Mr. Harrison, the Company's Treasurer,[2] died shortly before the fleet sailed. The *Anne* cast away a little beyond Gravesend, having all her cargo aboard except the money.[3] It is feared nothing can be saved. Captain Towerson was to have gone in her to Bantam as commander. The *Little Rose* on her way home had eight or nine men slain at the Cape by the savages while fishing. The *Lesser James* went on shore at the Scilly Islands, but was got off again after taking out her goods. Letters from Persia announce the death of Barker, whose estate was found to be but 3,000 [seraphins?] or 150*l.* sterling. No silk provided there at the time of writing (six months ago), but they expected to make good returns this year. *P.S.*—'The Palsgrave and his wiffe are crowned King and Queene of Bohemia, the one the 26, the other the 28 October, 1619, and have beseidged the Emperours forces in his cheiffe cittie of Vienna.'[4] He condoles with Bangham on his not getting a rise of wages, like John Goodding [Goodwin] and Henry Edm[onds].[5] (*Holograph. Seal. 2 pp.*)

Consultation held in Surat by President Kerridge, Giles James, and Joseph Hopkinson, December 17, 1620 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 10).

The effects of Walter Harvey, deceased, are to be applied towards the payment of his debts 'and makinge a toumbe for him'. The residue to remain on account in the Company's books. (*Copy. ½ p.*)

[1] These were exaggerations. Roe's gratuity was 1,500*l.*, and the allowance was only for a year or two (see *The Embassy*, pp. 528, 530).

[2] William Harrison, Treasurer, died in March, 1620.

[3] See the Court Minutes. She appears to have been recovered, and later to have resumed her voyage to Bantam.

[4] A baseless rumour.

[5] See the Court Minutes of January 10, 1620, and p. 252, *infra*.

Robert Hughes and John Parker at Patna to the Factors at Agra, December 22, 1620 (*Factory Records, Patna*, vol. i. p. 19).

Were glad to learn that their goods had reached Agra in time to be included in the caravan for Surat. Present prices of raw silk at Patna. The winding into seven sorts will cost Rs. 14 to 15 per maund, but by reducing the number of sorts to five they can lower the charges to about Rs. 12. Want of money has now reduced them to idleness. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

The Same to the Same, December 29, 1620 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 20).

Have received the goods advised and will endeavour to sell them. Beg a speedy supply of money. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

William Methwold at Masulipatam to Matthew Duke and Francis Futter at Petapoli, December 30, 1620 (*Abstract only. Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i. p. 133).

'The 416 pag[odas] which I left at the myne [*see* p. 208] in the Jewes and Bampaes handes was honestly invested and according to myne order was retorned me per Bampas. My said man Bampa was robd of all, and a peece of his eare was cut off, which greveth me more then my propper losse, although so much mony is too much felt in my poore estate. I must confesse that I thought that taking this coursse I might have invested 1,000 rials of eight and by the proceed have procured a competent meanes of living, howsoever it had pleased the incensed Company to have censured me. I beare with much pacience this large losse.' (½ *p.*)

Consultation held in Surat by President Kerridge, Giles James, and Joseph Hopkinson, January 3, 1621 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 10).

Advice received from Edward Heynes in Burhānpur that the ways are still impassable for their caravan without 'the Maleke

Amber his owne assurance and saufe conducte, and that alsoe very doubtfull to bee procured'. As it is essential to get the goods down to Surat very soon in order to lade them on the ship for England, it is resolved that if Heynes has not procured the pass from Malik Ambar, Hutchinson shall 'endevor to compound with the Raja Limgee [Lingjī?] for itts passage through his cuntrey of Avaus [*see* p. 210], or otherwise proceed such other waies as enquirie shall enforme him there to bee moste saufe (and least chardgable); wherin hee may joyne with the Dutch, if their caphilla bee in company with ours'. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE, GILES JAMES, AND JOSEPH HOPKINSON, JANUARY 9, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 11).

It is determined to maintain the price of their remaining ivory, and to dispatch a quantity of quicksilver to Agra with a Dutch caravan going thither; also some to Ahmadābād. 'Furthermore, the exportation of royalls, through occation of a minte erected in this towne [1], beinge utterly debard us, and wee haveinge sould 40,000 royalls unto the Captaine of the Castell, deputie in the Governors absence, with condition to receive the greater partt in redye monye and the resedue in bills of exchange for Amadavad and Agra, the said Captaine of the Castell att bargaine making having promised us to enforce the shraffs [*see* p. 8 *n.*] to secure each other, if any should faile, and they utterly refuseing soe to joyne, itt is propounded whither wee shall nottwithstandinge accepte of their bills, and therby rune the hazard of their not performance, or omitt supplie to the said factories for the next yeares provision; which diverslie discussed, seeinge noe perswation can prevaile with these officers for lycence to exporte our monyes, and that the Company both have and must ever undergoe such licke adventures by exchanges, itt is generally thought fitting their bills should bee received and dispeeded; the rather for that the certainetie of their paymentt hath bine often questioned before the Governor etc. cheefs, whoe have promised the uttermoste effects of justice in case any should faile us.' (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

[1] See a note on p. 36.

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE, GILES JAMES, AND JOSEPH HOPKINSON, JANUARY 11, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 12).

'This Councell, havinge ordered to bee dispeeded in company of the Dutch for Agra the quicksilver in our last consultation mentioned, is nowe assembled to considder whether requisite to adventure by the same convayanc the jewells received on the *London*, which beinge appoynted (by instructions inclosed in the box wherin they came, subscribed by the Governore and Deputie) unto the court for sayle, and the same in our knowledg beinge the fittest place for that purpose, in regarde of the oppertunety for their present convayance, Signor Walter Houton [1], a Dutch Agent, with nine or ten other Dutch, being uppon departuer thitherwards, and noe convoy of our owne people lickely to goe up this yeare, wee are all joyntely of opinion they shalbe delivered into the charge of the aforesaid Agent; which beinge resolved on, Thomas Kerridge further propounded whether fittinge to shew the jewells to the said Houton at their deliverie and tacke his receipte for the perticulers, or to acquainte the said Agent with one or two principall of his company only in generall tearmes that they are jewells, and conceale the qualletie; which being dulie considered of, itt is concluded that the perticulers for divers reasones shalbe concealled and the box delivered (sealed with our seales) into his custodie. And further itt is enordered that the embrodred cabenett landed out of the *Charles* last yeare, having bin sene and refussed by the cheefes heere, shal alsoe bee made redye, and together with His Majesties letter this yeare received [2], with the ditto jewells, bee consigned to William Biddulph and Francis Fettiplace in Agra.' (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

[1] Wouter Heuten, with a quantity of spices, camphor, &c., reached Agra April 29, 1621 (N.S.), and was presented by Āsaf Khān to the Emperor, who received him and his companions graciously, and ordered a house to be provided for them (*Hague Transcripts*, Series I, vol. iv. No. 139).

[2] This is probably the letter referred to in the following extract from the Court Minutes of January 24, 1620:—'Sir Thomas Roe mociond to have a letter procured from His Majestie to the Grand Mogore of complement, to acknowledg the kind usage of His Majesties people in his dominions, and the tokens received from him; a coppie wherof was presented, drawne by Sir Thomas Roe, and now red and approved, and appointed to be fairely limbd and ingrost in parchment, after Sir Thomas Roe hath showne it to Mr. Secretary Colvat' [Calvert].

RICHARD SWAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE FIGHTS OFF JASK (*Marine Records*, vol. xxx)[1].

1620, *November* 17 *and* 18. Took on board five Moors for Persia, 'being allyed or servants to such men as the President and Merchants could not denie passage without hinderance of thiere owne busines'. *November* 19. The *London* and *Roebuck* set sail from Swally towards Jask. *November* 21. Captured a Portuguese vessel from Muskat, the *Nuestra Senhora de Mer*[*ces*], of nearly 200 tons burden, Captain Francisco Mirando. *December* 5. Met the *Hart* and *Eagle* returning from Jask, 'not being of sufficient strength to encounter the Portingall forces there attending to ruine our masters Persian trade.' *December* 8. Landed at their own request all the Portuguese and Moors, 'except some seamen Moores, whome wee detained for our service, and the pilott, who, doubting some bad measure from the Portingalls, intreated he might not bee put ashore.' *December* 10. The sacrament administered on board the *London*. *December* 12. Volunteers were put on the prize, which was to be used as a fireship. *December* 16. 'In the morning our admirall with the masters of his fleete went abord the prize and carried two barrells of powder, some tarre, and other combustible provisions, intending with her to laie the Portingall admirall thwart the halse and soe to burne both together. The prize thus prepared, and all our shipps fitted, wee bore up with the men of warre, whose fleete consisted of two Portingall gallions bigger then the *London*, and two Flemmish shipps, one much about the burthen of the *Hart*, the other lesser then the *Robucke* or *Eagle*; their generall Ruy Frere de Andrade, the vice-admirall John Boralio[2]; the Dutch[3] shipps commanded one by Anthonia Musquit, the other by Baliazar de Chaves[4]. But it fell calme untill evening, and the current sett us so neere them that

[1] Printed by Purchas, with some errors and omissions, in his first volume (p. 725). See also (besides the other accounts in the present work) Pinder's narrative in *Purchas* (vol. ii. p. 1787), the fourth report of the Historical MSS. Commn., p. 306, and a small pamphlet in the British Museum entitled *The True Relation of that Worthy Sea Fight ... in the Persian Gulph* (London, 1622). For the Portuguese side cf. Faria y Sousa (*Asia Portuguesa*, tom. iii. pt. iii. ch. xix); *Lisbon Transcripts* at I. O.; *Books of the Monsoons*, vol. v; Luciano Cordeiro's *Como se perdeu Ormuz*, &c.

[2] João Boralho.

[3] A mistake for 'Flemish'.

[4] 'I find also two gallions and ten frigatts in the Portingall Armatho.'—*Note by another hand.*

they reached us with their ordinance. All night wee kept under sayle. Being, the 17th in the morning, by reason of the land turne [i.e. land breeze], to leeward [of them, they] waied their anchores and, setting saile, made towards our fleete, which at[tended their] comming, albeit they had and carefullie kept the benefitte of the w[ind. About] nine the fight began, which continued nine howres without intermission. In t[he afternoone], a fine gentle westerlie sea winde blowing, and wee to windward of t[hem, their] admirall, whether of necessitie to repaire some defect about his rud[der, or of] policie for some conceipted stratagem, anchored; and to the east[ward of him, his] vice-admirall and the greater Flemming, the lesser to leeward of [all, stopping] his leakes. Now, as aforesaid, all our fleete being to windward of [them, was the?] prize called unto to put in execution what was before determined [upon, in?] great hope our fire-designe would have taken itts intended effect; [which yet?] most likely beeing both too soone fired[1] and forsaken of those which had [it in charge,] prooved altogether a fruitlesse project, driving cleere of all ther [ships, to] their rejoycing, our disgrace, and our imployers losse. Our exp[ectations thus?] deceived, and they continuing still at anchor, wee all foure shipp[es, keeping the] wind and turning too and againe close ahead of them, raked them, [especially] their admirall, through and through fore and aft with our severall [broade]sides, receiving from them onely their prowe and bow peeces; out of whom, [as] I passed to the northwards in the *Robucke*, two unfortinate shotts cut asunder the weather leechropes of her foresaile and foretopsaile in the middle [depth] of both sailes; which renting, with our boate ahead and all other our best indevours wee could not make her staie, but were inforced after o[ ] for reparation of our sailes to beare up to leeward betwixt them and [the shoare]; in which interim their three greatest shipps plaied upon us with the whole of their broadsides, yet (to God onely bee the praise) with lesse hurt [then I could] have imagined. Thus having compassed the three last mentioned [ships] and luffing to rejoine with our owne fleete (which all this while, hou[lding the] benefitte of the wind, plaid upon the Portingalls with their great [ordnance] as fast as with so manie

[1] In the pamphlet above referred to the blame for this is put on 'General Best's son'.

musketts) I had gotten to windward of [the smaller] Flemming; who standing of as I did, untill hee had brought the [fired ship] directly beetwene him and mee, then turned taile and steered [with all the] sailes hee could make right afore the wind alongst the shore [to the eastward]; whome to rescue, the other three set saile, now so gentle that the [*Hart*], passing alongst their broadesides, received from some of them [few, from others none, either] great or small shotte. But our fleete, at present reunited, desiste[d their] further chase (the darknesse of the night and the generall wear[inesse] challenging a surcease from so toylesome a worke) and anchored [after midnight] in their before usuall roade. In this fight the *London* and *Hart* received verie littell hurt in their h[uls and] tackling; lesse or none amongst their men. The *Eagles* mainemast was sh[ot in] five places, whereof four quite thorough, and one John Banks lost his right arme. I in the *Robucke* had one Edward Browne slaine with a great shotte through his head, a peece of whose skull, together with some splinters of the same shotte, wounded Mr. Thomas Waller, one of my mates, in the foreheade, to the losse of his left eie; also John Phenix, boatswaines mate, and Robert Hepworth, coxons mate, both lost the use of their right hands. Never in so long a fight did I heare of so little hurt as upon our partes. Blessed be the Lord of Hostes, who was with us, and the God of Jacob, who was our refuge. I cannot trulie particularize their hurts and losses, save by report of our merchants: that John Boralio, their vice-admirall, and another captaine were slaine, with thirty or forty Portugalls out of their admirall (for Moores they account not in the number of their men); the rest yet unknowne. *December* 18. In the morning we had sight of the Portingalls at anchor ten miles to the eastward of us. They had the wind faire to come with us, but did not; whereupon wee had a generall conference whether it might bee fitter with the first of the seaturne, beginning usuallie about noone, to stand with them and trie it out for the masterie, ere they could receive anie supplie from Ormus or Muscatt, or further expected aide from Goa; or else to make saile for Jasques Roade, their to land our masters monies and goods, for whose surprizall the Portingalls fought, and for whose safetie wee maintained the quarrell against them. Both which seriously debated, the later was generallie approved fittest;

and everie man reparing to his charge, wee all waied to gaine the usuall roade of Jasques; unto which the *London* onely that night attained, the *Hart*, *Robucke* and *Eagle* riding a leauge without. Mr. Monox, agent, in a small Persian boate came and staied abord the *Robucke* all night, accompanied with one Signor Sebastiano Fiorino, a Venetian merchant, who afterwards had passage uppon the *Hart* for Surratt by order from the Admirall.' *December* 21. Landed all the money consigned to Jask, and part of the cloth. *December* 22. 'This morning was landed as much cloth as the time would [permit ?]; for discrying the Portugall gallioунes open of the roade, [to come] in (as wee supposed) with the seaturne, wee made hast to [ ] and stood of with them, they steering directly towards [Ormus] untill they mett two or three friggatts from thence [with supply] of men and munition; which shippt into them, they made [ ] towards us; but presently repenting their bargaine, with [ ] they clapt upon a tacke, and were so fortunate untill the [28th that either] they being to windward wee could not come at them, or else [at anchor] where wee could not without great disadvantage attempt th[em]. *December* 25 (*Christmas day*). After dinner wee waied with the seaturne, intending to assault them, but we presently had a gust of wind and raine against us which inforced us to anchor, insomuch that certaine [blacks] detained abord for our service, after their heathenish superstition were perswaded that the Portingalls had brought with them [from] Ormus a witch to bring them continuallie a faire wind. *December* 26. The depth at and neere the place where the Portugalls no[w were ?] being unknowne unto anie man in our whole fleete, wee set saile for the ester point of Jasques Roade, where wee first did fight ([it being?] knowne unto us all), supposing they would followe us thither [ ] our busines; which accordingly fell out, for wee were not at an[chor before ?] they setting saile came and anchored halfe a leauge to the [westward ?] of us. *December* 27. Calme untill noone; wind westerlie in the afternoone. They [ ] domineering, with musicke, flaggs and pendants in their friggatts [alongst ?] the shore. *December* 28 (*Innocents daie*). Perceiving the drift of this (now) Fabius Cun[ctator], wee omitted no oportunitie to give him battell; and about nine of [the] clocke, the Lord sending us apprettie easterlie gale,

our fleete w[eighed] and put all things in order for fight. The *London* and *Hart* anchored within a cables length and halfe from them upon their broadsides, and so indured the hotest burden of this second daies fight; for no sooner were they at anchor but that it fell calme and so continued all daie, insomuch that the *Robucke* and *Eagle*, who being somewhat asterne and steering neerer the shoare with intent to anchor, one upon the bowe of the Portugall admirall, and the other upon the bowe of the vice-admirall, could not, notwithstanding all diligence used, come to doe anie service in halfe an houres space; and no sooner were wee within the levell range of our ordinance from them then that (not a breath of wind to bee felt and a current against us) wee were constrayned to anchor or drive further of. But our broadsides once brought up, the great ordinance from our whole fleete played so fast uppon them, that doubtlesse, if the knowledge in our people had beene answerable to their willing minds and readie resolutions, not one of these gallioundes, unles their sides were impenetrable, had escaped us. About three of the clocke in the afternoone, unwilling after so hotte a dinner to receive the like supper, they cutte their cables and drove with the tide (then setting westerly) untill they were without reach of our gunnes; and then their frigatts came to them and towed them awaie wonderfullie mangled and torne; for their admirall in the greattest furie of the fight was inforced to heeld his shippe to stoppe his leakes, his mainetopmast overbord and the head of his mainemast. The greatter Flemming both his topmasts and part of his bowspritt shotte awaie. The lesser Flemming never a shrowde standing, never a topmast. The vice-admirall (who both daies did us most hurt) escaped best, for most commonly this daie he had one or other of their shipps betwixt him and us. Wee kept them companie all night, in hope the next morning to have given all or some of them their pasports. But surveying our shotte and finding small store left (notwithstanding that by some happie mistake the *Eagle* had a double proportion, out of which the other shipps were in part supplied), and withall having to consideration the voyage wee have to performe, wee resolved our returne to Jasques for the speedie d[ispatch of?] our worthie imployers busines there, and desisted their fu[rther chase?], leaving them doubtlesse glad men, the two greater shipps [towing] at their

sternes the two smaller. The number of their de[ad and] wounded men in this conflict I cannot report, as not [having ?] during our staie at Jasques certainely heard so much [as their ?] arrivall at Ormus or else where. One our part were [slaine ?] and wounded these ensuing: In the *London*, Henrie Crane, John Goare, slaine; our Admirall wounded, Peter Robinson wounded, and both [afterwards died ?]; William Hall and John Muskett both hurt, yet perfectly rec[overed ?].[1] In the *Hart*, Walter Davie slaine; Edmund Okely wounded, but though lame [recovered ?]. Great shotte of severall sorts spent in both fights: *London*, 1382; *Hart*, 1024; *Robucke*, 815; *Eagle*, 800; the totall, 4021.' . . . [1621], *January* 6. 'Our worthie Admirall in the beginning of our second fight received a great and greivous wound through his left shoulder by a great shotte, which hurt hee with such courage and patience underwent that gave great hope to us all of his most wished recoverie; but having, besides the former wound, two of the uppermost ribbs on the left side broken, this day about noone he departed this life, shewing himselfe, as ever before a resolute commander, so now in his passage through the gates of death a most willing, humble, constant and assured Christian. His bodie was interred at Jasques the 9th current, with all the solemnitie, decencie and respect the time and place afforded. This 6th, in the afternoone, opening the white boxe No. 1, Captaine Richard Blith (according to order therein) succeeded in place of Admirall; and by a consultacion William Baffine was continued master of the *London*, myselfe removed into the *Hart*, Christopher Browne into the *Robucke*, and Thomas Taylor appointed master of the *Eagle*.' *January* 14. Sailed for Surat. *January* 27. Between Diu and the sand heads surprised a Portuguese vessel of about 100 tons, named the *Nuestra Senhora de Remedio*, Captain Francisco de Silva, manned by 35 Portuguese and 25 Moors. The men were dismissed, and the vessel retained for use, being renamed the *Andrew*. *February* 1. They anchored in Swally Road, when the President came aboard. *February* 20. The Governor of Surat with his two sons and other natives visited the *London*. *February*

[1] Purchas classes these two men among those wounded upon the *Hart*, but the text is obviously right.

25. The Vice-Governor of Broach went on board the *London*, and on the following day visited the *Hart*. (11 *pp.*)

ARCHIBALD JEMISON'S ACCOUNT OF THE FIGHTS OFF JASK (*Marine Records*, vol. xxxii).

1620, *November* 19. Sailed from Swally. *November* 22 (*sic*). Took a Portuguese vessel laden with horses and dates. *December* 5. Met the *Hart* and *Eagle* returning. *December* 15. Saw the eastern point of Jask, with the enemy's fleet under the shore. *December* 16. The wind falling calm, they could not reach the Portuguese, but prepared for the next day. *December* 17. The enemy came out with the land wind, and a fight ensued, in which the *London* spent some eighty shot. At three in the afternoon an attempt was made to burn the Portuguese admiral with the prize as a fireship, but this failed. 'Soe she burned with 24 [*sic*] horsses and her loading of datts.' *December* 18. Went into Jask Road. *December* 28. The *London* and *Hart* engaged the Portuguese, the other two ships being unable to come up for want of wind. 'God so dealt with us that theye had the overthrowe (the Lord make us thankfull); for wee had but too men slane this daye, and one (that died the next daye) that was hurte. But our captaine received one shoote one his lefte shoulder to our greate greife, who was the first that was hurte, hee beinge one the halfe decke. Theye did ply us verry hard untill such time as wee could laye out a kedger to bringe our broade side to beare uppon them; and then (God be praysed) theye hadd the overthrowe, with much spoyle of theire ships and mastes.' From four o'clock chased them till the morning, when, finding their powder and shot far spent, they desisted and made for Jask. 1621, *January* 5. 'Our captaine was verry ill, and desired us all to praye for him, and he himselfe verry godly and patient in all the time of his hurte, and at 6th he departed at noone.'[1] *January* 9. 'Our captaine was buried on shoore at Jasques.' *January* 13. Set sail for Surat. *February* 3. The *London* and *Eagle* anchored in Swally Road. (4 *pp.*)

[1] 'Our captain, Andrew Shilling, received a mortall wound the sixth [first?] shot that past this eight and twentieth, yet was valiant and spake cheerefull, with thankefulnesse to God the last minute of his life, which ended the sixth of Januarie' (Pinder's narrative see p. 220 *n.*).

RICHARD BLYTH, RICHARD SWAN, CHRISTOPHER BROWNE, AND WILLIAM BAFFIN AT JASK TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 13, 1621 (*Abstract only. Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i. p. 57)[1].

Events of the voyage from the Cape. 'The 9th of November the *London* and *Roebucke* arrived at Suratt. A Dutch shipp at Suratt (the *Wappen van Zealand*) was ready to depart for Bantam. The factors at Suratt informe our two shipps of the Portugalls armado wayting for our shipps in the Gulph of Persia, and thereupon concluded to dispeed theis two shipps also to Jasques to rejoyne with the other two for their better defence, and did sett saile accordingly the 19th of November, after they had landed the monies and goods at Suratt which were designed for that place, except the corrall. Corrall prohibited to be lannded at Suratt. The *London* and *Roebuck* take a shipp of Muscate about 14 leagues from Diu, wherein were 42 Arabian horses, and in whom they tooke out 770 pieces of gould of the value of chickeens[2], and 10,200 laurees[3], and had in hir 154 persons, whereof 48 Portugalls, the rest of Muscatte. By theis people the lying in waite of the Portugals armado was confirmed. Theis two shipps *London* and *Roebuck* mett with their two consorts 80 leagues shorte of Jasques.[4] The *Hart* and *Eagle* also did take a shipp belonginge to the Portugalls at Muscatt, but freely dismissed hir againe without hurt to people, shipp or goods. The said *Hart* and *Eagle* did also (24 November) take a ship of Diu bound for Ormus laden with stuffs of Cambaia; which shipp (because ours understood of the strength and awaighting of the Portugalls at hand) they held not fitt to retaine, but tooke out of hir the goods that laye uppermost so much as themselves could bestowe, and soe tourned hir off, and landed the goods at Jasques, without either burninge ship or goods or hurting the people. The said *Hart* and *Eagle*, seeing the Portugall armado, used their best meanes to intice them to seperate their forces, by drawing some of their shipps from the rest, but the Portugalles kept in their joynt strength; whereupon,

[1] A portion of this letter was printed by Purchas in his *Pilgrimes* (vol. i. p. 728).

[2] Sequins.

[3] Pers. *lārī*, a peculiar coin formed of a small rod of silver bent double. It was worth about an English shilling.

[4] On December 5 (see Swan's journal). Purchas prints 'first' by mistake for 'fifth'.

for very good approved consideracions, they laid their course backe againe to Suratt to unite themselves also with their consortes, the *London* and *Roebucke*, and happily mett them about 80 leagues to the eastwards of Jasques. Joyning togither, they went rejoyceing forwards to the enemye, the gennerall of whom was Rui Frere de Andrade, whom themselves called the Pride of Portugall. Before they came to fight, ours, upon good consideracion, sett all the people which were in the greatest prize ashoare. Ours arrived at the easter ende of Jasques Roade the 16 December. There they found the Portugalls armado, consistinge of four shipps, two gallys and ten friggotts, their generall or cheife commander called Ruy Frere de Andrade. Sunday, 17 December, they joyne battell and fought from nine in the morning till darke night. The Portugalles retyre ten or eleven miles from our shipps to repaire themselves. Damage done to the Portugales, noe certentye. Our ships spent half their shott this first daies fight; therefore to advise to furnish your shipps with more store of shott. 20 December, ours gott into Jasques Roade and discharged their monies and goods. 28 December, the English and the Portugale fleetes were within a mile of each other. The Portugall armado intended to protract the tyme to hinder our shipps ladeing. Our shipps sett upon them the said 28 day. See the manner of the fight. The Portugalls cutt cables and drive downe with the tyde, and being out of shott were towed awaie by their frigotts. Their hulles, masts, and tacklinges wonderfully mangled and torne, perticulerly described. Our shipps follow them, intending to give them their pasports the next morning; but surveighinge their shott they found small store left, and considering what a voiage they had to performe of great moment, therefore followed them noe further, but resolved to applye themselves thereunto, thanking God to have putt their enimies to flight.' No news whither the Portuguese are gone. It is rumoured that their general was slain. The English ships remain serviceable, and lost only five men slain and not many wounded. Amongst the latter 'our worthy Admirall received a greevious wound through his left shoulder with a great shott, and with courrage and patience thereof died 6 January.' They intended to carry his body to Surat, but were obliged to bury it at Jask[1].

[1] 'His body we intended to have carried to Surat, and there according to his deserts

Richard Blyth succeeds to the command. '520 wholle bales and six half bales of silke laden into our shipps at Jasques.' The ships will be late in returning to England. 'The safety of your goods in Persia resteth upon the life of the kinge, in chaung of whome your affaires maie stand doubtfull. Advise to discover Gombron for the safe discharge of your goods, or to procure a fort upon the easter point of Jasques.' The attempt on the Portuguese fleet with a fireship proved unsuccessful. (2 *pp.*)

Robert Hughes and John Parker at Patna to the President and Council at Surat, January 30, 1621 (*Factory Records*, *Patna*, vol. i. p. 20).

They have received the letter of December 1, with copy of the Company's letter by the last fleet, and will follow the instructions therein. They have been much hampered by want of means. 'In our last wee wrought you what quantitye of silke and callicoes a yeares tyme and store of monyes would compasse, by the course wee have taken; the former not here to bee provided in the condition the Companye requier it from the dellers therin, for that theye are soe poore and begerlye that theye cannot furnishe us without trustinge them with monyes beforehand, which course wee dare not atempt, theye not beinge able to give securitye for performance. The unacustomed wyndinge it of into so manye sortes in this place is a sufitient reason why not so well performed as in Agra and Lahore, where theire use therof for weavinge of tafites, ettc., requiers it. And for the originall or serbandy, thousands of maunds is allwaise to bee bought in Agra, thoughe not at such easye rates as here or in Bengall, and yf what alredye provided shall induce you to animate us futturlye for anye large provisiones therin, our selves know not how to prescribe a better course for its procuringe in quantitye at esier rates then formerlye advized you, unlese you would send into Bengalla, a hundred and fortye course from this place, to the cittye of Mucksoudabad where it is made, which would bee worth bothe labor and charge, for wee are asured

to have performed his last funerall rights, the chyrurgians confidently promising by imbalming and waxe-cloth to preserve him without annoyance thither; but notwithstanding this cost and their promise, his body (in regard of his great wound) proving noysome, we were enforced to bury at Jasques' (*Purchas*, vol. i. p. 729).

that there it maye be provided in infinite quantityes at least twenty per cent. cheaper then in anye other place of India, and of the choysest stufe, wounde of into what condition you shall requier it, as it comes from the worme; where are also innumerable of silk-wynderes, experte workmen, and labor cheaper by a third then elce where. But untill your farther resolution therin wee shall endevor acordinge to your order the provision of what quantitye therof meanes and tyme will permit, as also of sahannes and such sortes of amberty callicoes as you advize of. For other provisions, thoughe in th' intrime wee receave suplye from Agra, wee shall defer untill your farther injunctions.' They give thanks for news and the letters from England. If any 'jewels or tofa' [*see* p. 126 *n.*] could be spared, 'wee thinke our Governor would prove the best merchant for the Companies profitt.' (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE, GILES JAMES, AND JOSEPH HOPKINSON, FEBRUARY 1, 1621 (*Factory Records, Surat,* vol. i. p. 12).

In consideration of a horse lately given to Kerridge by the Governor of Broach and other courtesies from him and his brother, it is decided that 30 yards of cloth be presented to him ('now being removed to bee Governor of Amadavad') and 6 coveds of cloth to his brother ('substitute in his place att Barroche'). The horse, valued at 600 'mamoothes', is to be brought to the Company's account. (*Copy.* ¼ *p.*)

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE, GILES JAMES, AND JOSEPH HOPKINSON, FEBRUARY 3, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 13).

The fleet having returned from Persia, the question arises what ship or ships should be sent home this year. It is thought that the *Hart* and one of the smaller vessels would be suitable, but the matter is referred to a later consultation in conjunction with the Commander and Sea Council. Robert Hutchinson writes requesting instructions, as the Governor of Māndū will not let the caravan depart without a writing absolving him from all blame should it be robbed. Debate thereon. Hopkinson thinks some one should be

sent 'to compound with the Raja Limge' to allow the caravan to pass through his territory. James agrees that 'the waie of Avaus' [*see* p. 210] might be tried, as it is most important the goods should be got down to Surat to complete the ships' lading; moreover, 'one Virgivora [*see* p. 86], a marchantt of this towne, having goods lyeinge in Mando to the vallew of ma[hmūdīs] 30,000, offerreth to adventure the same in company of ours that waie'; and if he thinks it worth while to run that risk, much more may they. Kerridge concurs that if Heynes has not procured a pass from Malik Ambar, 'the goods shalbe adventured through the cuntrey of Avaus,' and an Englishman dispatched forthwith to compound with the Rājā 'for his accustomed duties or exactions'. Nicholas Hayward chosen for this duty. A vest of stamell and two knives to be presented to the Rājā, and two knives to the Governor of Māndū. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE, GILES JAMES, AND JOSEPH HOPKINSON, FEBRUARY 18, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 14).

John Bangham, who arrived from Māndū last night, brought news that 'Robert Hutchinson had received the Melleeke Amber his owne assurance in wrightinge under his seale for saufe passadge of the same through his seaverall armyes and all other places under his comaund, and the same confirmed by annother wrighting under the seale of Yaccote Chan [Yāqūt Khān], generall of the Decans forces in the Mogulls territories, who had also sent two of his searvants to accompanie the goods and see itts performance. This Consultation therfore doth revoke their former order for the caphillas passage through waie of Avaus, and directlye ordaine itt shall come the way of Brampoare.' Hutchinson is to hire camels as cheaply as possible and to endeavour to be at Surat by April 5 at the latest. Should this be hopeless, for want of camels, he is to store the goods at Māndū and await orders; or he may come on with the bulk of the goods, leaving the rest behind. The Commander and masters, having seen the goods at 'Jangerpoare[1]', are of opinion that there will only be sufficient lading for the *Hart.* That vessel is accordingly selected to be sent home alone. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

[1] Jahāngīrpur, on the right bank of the Tāptī, about a mile above Rānder.

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, GILES JAMES, AND JOSEPH HOPKINSON, FEBRUARY 22, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 15).

As it is evident that the goods for England, &c., cannot be cleared from the custom-house without bribes, it is resolved 'that the vallue of ma[hmūdīs] 600 in cloth should be given to the Customer, ma[hmūdīs] 300 in licke comodities to the Cheefe Scrivan[1], and ma[hmūdīs] 200 in monye amongst writters and other officers'. And whereas two years ago a scarf of 25*l.* being assigned to the Customer on a like occasion, he took instead one worth over 47*l.*, and now requires the English to remit their claim for the difference, this is agreed to on the understanding that the expected caravan from Māndū shall be allowed to come in without further bribes to him or his officers. It is also determined that a thousand mahmūdīs, a vest of cloth and a 'pamre' [*see* p. 189] shall be given to their broker 'Midas' [Mahī Dās], as his profits have been very small, owing to their sending so much to other places for sale and to 'the custome of one per cento beinge by us abridged him'. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

CAPTAIN JOHN BICKLEY, ABOARD THE *CHARLES* IN BATAVIA ROAD, TO THE GOVERNOR OF THE COMPANY, FEBRUARY 26, 1621 (*O. C.* 933).

'... These are to geve Your Worship to understande how all beusiness hath past in our fleett sence my departure from Surratt, beinge the 16 of March, 1619 [1620]. Soe the 22 daye wee tooke a smale joncke of Goa, beinge bounde for salte, having in her some six butts of rack, not any thinge elce worth the writinge; and the 23 daye wee tooke a joncke of Dabull, beinge bounde for the Read Sea. The captain of herr came aborde of me and broughte with hime a letter, the which Captain Bonner gave him at his beinge at Dabull the yeere before, the which in his letter hee did intreate any one of the comanders of the Companyes shipps that if the[y] did mete with any shipp of Dabull to use them kindly, in regarde hee himselfe had receaved greate kindness at ther handes, the which hee made no doutt but that any one of the Companyes shippes shoulde ther finde the like curtesy. I then beinge in sighte

[1] Writer (Port. *escrivão*).

of Dabull, wente into the rood, and caried in the joncke with mee for our better security for any that shoulde goe alande. Soe at two of the clock, beinge the 23 daye, wee came to ancker in the rood of Dabull, and presently sente two of our marchants aland to see wher [i.e. whether] that the[y] coulde put awaye some oulde sworde blades, the which wee had from Surratt to sell anywher. Soe at ther cominge alande the Governor receaved them verry kindly, and presently hee sente us anythinge as wee wanted. Soe spech beinge made to the Governor for the sale of the sworde blades, the which next daye hee sente aborde one to see them, but the[y] waer not for his tourne ore likinge; but hee saied if the[y] had ben good the[y] had boughte them all, but for these the[y] would not geve 2*s.* a pece nether in money nor truck; but our price wase 8*s.* the pece; and to take awaye ther goods perforce in trucke of these sworde blades I darst not, I havinge noe such order. They demanded for brood cloth, tenn and sword blades; if the[y] bee good, will sell well ther; alsoe the[y] did proffer us to settell a facktory ther if wee woulde, the which I wrote to Mr. Kerredge of itt; whe[the]r itt came to his handes I knowe not. Soe presently at our cominge aborde of our marchantes againe I did sett the joncke free to proceed one ther voydge, havinge not a penny damage done to them by any of our fleett. The Governor wase verry thankfull to us for the releasinge of ther joncke, and sente us worde that wee shoulde bee as wellcome to hime as his owne people, and withall hee sente us a presente of ten bullocks, henns, rice, goates, and divers sortts of provesions of frute; the which hee did shewe itt wase his love towardes us in regarde his joncke wase gone out of oure comande the daye before. Soe the time of our beinge ther we receaved thirty head of cattell, besides divers other provesions, to the greate compfort of our people, havinge all these provesions broughte aborde by his owne people and boates, and itt [i.e. yet] hee woulde not take any mony at all for yt, but did desire that wee woulde bee kinde to his people if wee did mete with them, and wee shoulde finde the like at his handes againe. I knowe noe such place in all that coaste as Dabull for kinde usadge ore refreshinge for sick men if ocasione shoulde bee. Soe in regarde of these kindness that wee had receaved of the Governor wee did bestowe some smale presente and soe departed the road of Dabull the 26 of March and arived in the road of Achene the 25 of

Aprell.' (1 *p. The rest of the letter is concerned with transactions at Achin and Jakatra, relations with the Dutch, &c.*)

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, GILES JAMES, AND JOSEPH HOPKINSON, MARCH 1, 1621 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 16).

The arrangements for the coming investments are considered. 'The Honourable Company havinge in severall letters required us to buy their comodeties in the places wher they are made, and wee therby induced the last yeare to send factors both to Lahore and Patana, whoe by their seaverall letters and provisions encourageinge us to the continewance of resedences in both places, as well for provisions of narrow clothe and semanes in the former, as of silck, amberties etc., in the latter, it is generally resolved by this Consultation to experyence annother yeare in bothe places the comodeties they afford.' As some of the goods sent to Burhānpur are still unsold, the question of dissolving that factory is allowed to stand over. On the proposal of Rastell, Cambaya is made for the future independent of Ahmadābād, and Nathaniel Halstead ('notwithstanding hee is a limbe of Amadavad factory') is made its chief, with Richard Lancaster as assistant. As this leaves only James Bickford and William Hill at Ahmadābād, John Clark is appointed thither as assistant. Richard Barber [at Broach?] having solicited leave to return to England on account of ill-health, Justinian Offley is to be dispatched thither to help him this year and succeed him next, should he still desire to go home. As Fettiplace also intends to leave next year, and the Company have given him permission to do so, the question of his successor is discussed. Nobody can be spared from Surat and 'itt is resolved that the Pattana factorie shalbe disolved after this yeare untill the Company send suffitient factors to supply that and other occations, and Robert Hughes (after the cominge away of William Biddulph and Frances Fettiplace) to supplie the place both of Agent and cheefe factor, and John Parker to bee his accomptant; and John Willoubie to continue (as hee is alreadie appointed) assistant to Robert Younge in the Lahore or Semana employment and to keepe those accompts. Furthermore, itt was propounded whether Lahore or Semana shalbee the

resedence for that investmentt, and referred to discretion of the imployed.' (*Copy*. 1 *p*.)

Annexed: (i) A computation of ready money, goods and debts in the various factories available for the investment, March 1, 1621. In Surat, mahmūdīs 671,266. In Ahmadābād, mahmūdīs 37,073. In Agra, (including rupees 8,000 in the lashkar, 4,000 at Patna, and 1,500 at 'Semana') rupees 83,136 = mahmūdīs 202,770. In Broach, mahmūdīs 48,000. In Baroda, mahmūdīs 10,000. In Burhānpur, mahmūdīs 70,814. Total, mahmūdīs 1,039,923.

(ii) List of goods to be purchased at the various factories during the coming year. In Surat: narrow baftas, sealing-wax, turmeric and gum-lac 'of sort danna' [*see* p. 84]. In Ahmadābād: indigo, narrow white baftas, 'dutties Dolka,' dyed baftas (crimsons, carnadines, watchets), 'seares whited' (including some 'stript with blew for napkininge'), green ginger, gum-lac ('of the sort choupra refined into small cakes', and some 'of the sort danna'), and 'dutties Dolka died into watchetts'. In Agra: indigo, 'semianas,' 'sehum cloth,' 'callicoes of all sorts' (including 20,000 pieces from Lahore and the parts adjacent), 'quilltes of Bengala,' Bengala silk (100 maunds), gum-lac ('chuppra,' 'danna,' and 'ruslake in clodds'), and samples of musk and civet from Lahore. In Broach: baftas, narrow and broad, 'nicanees,' stuffs ('popelee, chuckerians and hasseines, and capperees'), and 'erames.' In Baroda: baftas, narrow and broad. Total cost estimated at mahmūdīs 796,895. (*In all* 5 *pp*.)

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, GILES JAMES, AND JOSEPH HOPKINSON, MARCH 2, 1621 (*Ibid*., vol. i. p. 23).

As it has been found that the *Hart* cannot lade all the goods for England, it is resolved to send either the *Eagle* or *Roebuck* home with her. Arrangements for the stowage of the Persian silk. Decision as to landing of lead deferred. As the Company have forbidden all their ships 'from falling with the coast of England after the month of August, and none of these able to arrive in any likelyhood by the fine of September', it is determined to dispatch John Leachland and Nicholas Hayward overland by the way of the Red Sea to advise that the ships are on their way. (*Copy*. 2 *pp*.)

ROBERT HUGHES AT PATNA TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, MARCH 3, 1621 (*Factory Records, Patna*, vol. i. p. 22).

Acknowledges the receipt of their letter of January 15. The 'Jehangery coved' of this place is 40 inches, not 32⅛ as stated therein. This mistake has made Surat underestimate the usefulness of the cloth, which is better made than either 'sammanes or your baftaes'. Will invest only in the broader sorts. Rs. 5,003 received by exchange from Agra, and they have drawn on the latter place for Rs. 2,000 more, 'at 98⅛ rupes nuryes [1] per cent. rupes hondis'. 'Muckrob Con is by the Kinge recalled from this goverment, it beinge given Sultan Pervize [2], whoe is shortlye expected.' They can only send part of their investment to Agra before the rains. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

ROBERT HUGHES AT PATNA TO THE FACTORS AT AGRA, MARCH 3, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 23).

Acknowledges the receipt of Rs. 5,003 by exchange. He is sorry to hear that the raw silk sent to Agra for sale is in so little esteem. Mistake made at Surat in the length of the Patna coved. He has drawn upon Agra for Rs. 2,000, 'havinge received here of Maun Muckon [Mān Makhan], sherafes, 1,962¼ rup[ees] muryes [3] to bee by you repayed in Agra unto Cassy [Kāsī] and Baseser [Bisheshar] in 2,000 rup[ees] honds' [*see* p. 85]. The bill is 'written at 40 dayes bandy muder'.[4] Exchange has fallen lately owing to Muqarrab Khān delivering out three lacs of rupees to be repaid him in Agra. They could utilize five or six thousand rupees more, if so much could be spared them. Muqarrab Khān promises early payment for the goods he has bought. 'Hee departes hence (by reporte) within theise eight dayes, and already Perveze his servants have umull.'[5] The greater part of their investment cannot be sent till after the rains. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

[1] Possibly Hind. *nūrī*, 'bright,' applied to a newly-coined rupee, which appears to have been the standard of comparison with a bill rupee.

[2] Parwīz, the second son of Jahāngīr.

[3] Apparently a slip for 'nuryes'.

[4] Hind. *band-i-mudat*, 'term for settlement.'

[5] Charge (Pers. *amal*, 'management,' 'authority').

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, GILES JAMES, AND JOSEPH HOPKINSON, MARCH 4, 1621 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 25).

The *Roebuck* selected to accompany the *Hart* to England. The ships' companies having petitioned to be allowed a fourth of the prize-goods, 'as was promised them att dispeed of the *London* and *Robuck* for Pearsia,' it is resolved to grant their request. Thomas Quince, a surgeon sent out to remain at Surat, 'though here bee already a suffitient surgion,' is to be dispatched to Persia next year, 'for excuseinge the chardge, and supplyinge the place, of an unnecessarie phisition[1] ther entertayned.' Funds allotted to Leachland and Hayward for their overland journey. A gratuity of 200 mahmūdīs to Robert Stanton, 'lefte in the cuntrie by Captaine Towerson' and since employed in the Company's service for two years. Advance to Randal Jesson to induce him to go with Captain Blyth to the southwards as mate of the *London*. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE, THOMAS RASTELL, GILES JAMES, AND JOSEPH HOPKINSON, MARCH 9, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 26).

'This Counsell assembled to consider of a clause in the Companies letter authorising the stopping of the juncke of this place for procuring againe the Red Sea trade and perseverence in our trade of currall, both which having bine forbidden us by expresse command from the Prince and maynelye withstood by the officers and marchants of the towne . . . and wee, to prevent the stopping of the whole currentt of our affayres, having bene enforced to desist from the former and give writtinge nott to bringe any more of the latter (which wryting hath caused us heatherto to conceale that come on this fleete), and itt beinge now the utmost limitte of time, there junckes nerely prepared to sett saile for their severall portts, the said clause in the Companies letter mentioninge itts doeing homeward bound, itt was by Thomas Kerridge propounded whether

[1] George Strachan, concerning whom see an article by Sir Henry Yule ('Some Little Known Travellers in the East') in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1888.

nott fittinge to bee putt in execution now, as well for the premises as sundrey other particulers (debated), or no: all which having formerly bene discussed by writtinge twixte this and the Amadavad factorye, and since the cuminge downe of Thomas Rastell oftentimes conferred upon, the Counsell was convocated for absolute reasolution in the premises. And first, are joyntly of opinion that when the aforesaid junckes are fully laden and their marchants aboard, they shall bee stopte untill wee are permitted to land the currall and have procured itts delivery into our owne howse, with a writting under the Governor etc. their hands for free libertie to make saile of itt without mollestation. Secondly, itt is resolved that in licke manner wee shall enforce liberty to exporte our royalls as in former tymes, this yere prohibited to the Companies great detrimentt. Thirdlye, itt is generally determined that the officers etc. of this place, to our knowledg having bought 4,000 shott of severall sizes of the Dutch, shall supplye us with soe many as wee wante and have powder to usse. Fourthlye, itt shall bee requested that a new exaction raised on our goods in their passage att Unclesere shall henceforth bee acquitted and nott demanded. Fifthlye, that their shalbee restitution made, or promise in writtinge given, for rupeas 5,000 and odd remitted from hence by exchange for Agra, wherin, the charged fayleing, wee have not received justice from the principalls here. Sixtlie, that a convenyent howse shall bee promised and freedum in all our buisenesse, as well sales as imployments, and the Governor of Ourpall [*see* p. 132] shall not have power to stopp our goodes or hinder our watering. Seventhlie, itt is generally thought fitting, in hope our desiers afore mentioned wilbee the eazier granted, that noe bribes nor exactions shall att this time bee questioned. Lastlie, concerninge the Red Sea trade this Councell are seaverally of opinion as followeth[1]: Joseph Hopkinson of opinione that though the Honnourable Company in their this yeares received letter doe intimate their deasiers for continuance of the Red Sea trade uppon their hopes of better

[1] It will be noticed that the members record their opinions in order of juniority, the idea being that the younger merchants would speak their minds more freely than they would if their seniors had already expressed their views. This practice is still observed in the Governor-General's Council, which is of course only a development of the Factory Council of former days.

proffitt found therin per a further experience made by the *Lyon*, yet that itt shall not att this time be questioned, because what soever their promise is for present, yett afterwards itt will bee a meanes they will hinder our investmentts for England, which the Company deasire (as the life of their trade) principally to bee supplied. And againe, if the same bee granted us, hee is of opinion, home returnes being supplied, wee have not att present comodities to send thither suffitientt to ballance the chardge. Giles James of opinion that to demande soe many things of them att one time wilbee a meanes wee shall have sattisfaction in none, and is therefore of opinion the Red Sea trade shall not att this time be questioned, thatt beinge the cappitall buisenes wherin they will oppose us. Thomas Rastell is of opinion that these cheefes have nott power of themselves to assure us that trade without the Prince his expresse approbation therto, whoe hath allreadye utterlye forbidden itt; and that the present mentioninge will availe little, but licklye to prejudice much, espetially in our this yeares linen envestmentts, which by experyence he alredye observed by their prohibition two yeares past uppon the licke occations, when but merely demanded, without any manner of enforcementt; and hee is further of opinion that they will not accomplishe in any of our present demands, notwithstanding their promise therto, excepte only for reception of our currall, which wee maye see effected before their junckes departure, and but for itt[s] performance had not given his consent to the presente attempt; nor doth hee, for the reasons alleaged, approve of the Red Sea trade itts enforcementt untill a more convenyentt tyme, as in certaine his letters from Amadavad is more att large expressed. Thomas Kerridge is of opinion that the Red Sea trade will not be obtayned without great difficultie, yet knoweth the understandinge and necessetie of this people will move them to undergoe a lese inconvenyencie to avoyde a greater, and the Company haveing expresly enordered the stoppinge of their juncks to enforce the Red Sea trade, hee conceiveth itt will bee as availeable to doe itt outward as homewards bounde; wherby alsoe a yeares tyme wilbee gained to forward provisions for the next yeare. And seeinge the Prince his contradiction proceeded from these marchantts request, itt is suffitiently probable a greater prejudice will enforce them to petition for his licence.

But this his opinion beinge contradicted by most voyces, as is aforementioned, hee subscribeth thereunto untell the Companies order shall otherwise determine itt. And to the latter parte of Thomas Rastells opinion, hee replyeth that beesides the currall, libertie to exporte our royalls is of consequence to bee questioned, and the rest, though of lesser importe, yett to much to be omitted, and would the easier be granted, and are necessary to bee urged.' It is determined not in any case to detain the junk longer than six days, in case she should lose her monsoon. The coral is to be landed as soon as the English goods (with the exception of the Agra caravan) are at the waterside. The question of trade at Dābhol is deferred. Twelve thousand rials to be sent to Achin. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

RICHARD SWAN'S[1] ACCOUNT OF THE STOPPING OF THE PRINCE'S JUNK (*Marine Records*, vol. xxx).

March 5, 1621. 'The *Eagle* sent downe to guard the Princes juncke and [prevent ?] her further lading, untill free leave and libertie should be [ ] granted for passage of carts with goods and other our provis[ions], which have beene restrained six or seven daies by the grating Governor of Ulpare [*see* p. 238], by which meanes no cotton woll could come downe untill our shippe was full laden forward on.' ... *March* 16. 'Uppon notice that the Agra caphila was robbed by the Decan armie, a present resolution was taken to seeke restitution uppon the shipps of the said Decan prince and his confederates in the action; and the Red Sea intended for our shipps wintering. *March* 22. 'The Prince his juncke dismissed, whome the President and Counsell of Suratte caused the *Eagle* to staie untill the Governor of Suratte granted, under his hand, to supplie our wants of powder and shotte (for our mony), and to permitt the landing of the Honourable Companies currall, and redresse for manie other discurtesies towards our nation.' (¾ *p.*)[2]

[1] Now master of the *Hart* (see p. 225).

[2] A letter from Van den Broecke (*Hague Transcripts*, Series I, vol. iv. No. 163) refers briefly to the dispute. He represents himself as taking the side of the English.

ROBERT JEFFRIES[1] AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, MARCH 14, 1621 (*O. C.* 939).[2]

Narrates his 'bannishment from your Persian ymployment', owing to 'a trynall trecherye begotten against me by our criticall Agent Edward Monnox, our carnall minister Mr. Cardro, and Stracan [*see* p. 237 *n.*] our infernall phesition: the world, the flesh, and the divell'. Charges against those three. By the malice of Strachan, an accusation was brought against Jeffries 'that in February, 1619 [1620], in Xiras I should tell one Giles Gonsalves (a Portingall) that our vertuous Queen Ann, of happie memory, died a Catholicke, and that our hopefull Prince Charles was tutored in the Papist religion, wherfore yt was presumed there would bee a marriage with the daughter of Spaine'; and he was thereupon dismissed by Monnox and sent down to Jask. 'On Satterdaie the 16th of December yt pleased God to conducte in safetye our fleet all in company, and with them a prize with 40 Arabian horse and other lading of dates and raizens; at what tyme Ruy Freire de Andrade, the Generall of the Portingall armada, with four ships of warr, roade at anchor neere a poynt some three leagues from Jasques. Unto whom our fleet repaired, and being faire within shot the vice-admirall of the enemye shot one peece of ordinance to discemble a salutation, and within a little space after that their admirall did the lyke; wherunto our fleet were silent, past neere them and tact about againe (being now almost night), all our shipps in battle array makinge their course as seemingly to boare them out of the roade; and so stood off to seawards for that night. The day following (being Sonday), about nyne in the morning both fleets encountered under saile, and the third bord[3] our fleet made (being bountifull with bullets) recovered the wynde from the enemye; and so yt pleased God they found such entertaynment that forced them to their anchors, giving them continewall battery; and, thinking to remove them, fiered the prize, which (as God would) did not second our desiers with successe. So in the night,

[1] One of the factors in Persia (*see* p. 143), who had been dismissed by the Agent, Edward Monnox, on a charge of treason, and sent a prisoner to Surat, where he was restored to the service.

[2] A copy of this letter is included in *O. C.* 998.

[3] Tack.

beaten over and over, they departed with dishonor, losse of two captains and many others of nomber incertayne, and their shipping rent, battered, and much unordered. And (blessed be God) in all this fight our fleet lost but one man, which was slayne with a great shot abord the *Robucke*. The daie following our Agent went on board; and two daies after sent for me, unto whom I repaired, findinge him uppon the *London*; where before my comminge my treason was devoulged, with other his malice to my disparagment. And a day after this, Ruy Freire appearing againe to come into the roade with his fleet where wee were at anchor, our Agent made hast to get on shoare out of shot; and seeing me uppon the halfe decke, in publicke audience he said to me that he had given order to his father, Captain Shilling, that I should not goe from abord, and that he there left me prisoner for the Kinge. As of this with other his abuses towards me I have taken credible certificate to witnesse in my behalfe [*see O. C.* 928]. In this interim calmes and contrary wyndes hindered our encounter untill Innocents Daie, when about ten of the clocke we came to anchor within musket shot of our enemyes, and in a flat calme began to make thundering weather. In the begining of which fight that good and valiant Captain Andrewe Shilling received an infortunate shot on the left shoulder, as he was on the halfe decke, which nine daies after caused his bodie to render a Christian soules departure to eternitye. This fight continewed till night, when with a second dishonor (and doubtles with much slaughter) in the night they departed, wee following them till morninge. In which interim examining our shot, founde ourselves out of meanes farther to chace them, the want wherof prevented their utter distruction; their masts by the board, their hulls rent and shattered, and in such sorte that wee hard not any newes of any of them since then, and doe verilye thinke that in the following storme some of them were sunke. God graunt them lyke successe whenever they pretende lyke disturbance to our quiet trade. And to Almightye God be the glorie for this happie victorye. Amen. In this fight wee lost in the fleete some six men[1] more (with those that were mortally wounded), besides others did escape with losse of lyms. I could perticulate this fight more a minudo, but oppor-

[1] Seven, according to the duplicate. From the other accounts it would appear that only five were killed or died from wounds.

tunity will not permyt; only doe certifie that in both fights wee bestowed on the enemye 4,021 great shot.' A further consultation on board the *London*, when nothing was decided in regard to the accusations against Jeffries. He has now 'sufficiently satisfied Mr. Kerridge and this Counsell' of his innocence, and is awaiting their decision regarding his future employment. Particulars of their purchases of silk in Persia, and its damage by want of care in packing. On weighing it at Surat a deficiency of 4,241 lb. was discovered. (*Holograph.* 4½ *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD ABOARD THE *HART* IN SWALLY ROAD, BY PRESIDENT KERRIDGE, MESSRS. RASTELL, JAMES, AND HOPKINSON OF THE SURAT COUNCIL, AND CAPTAIN RICHARD BLYTH, COMMANDER OF THE FLEET, WITH THE REST OF THE SEA COUNCIL, MARCH 16, 1621 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 29).

'The President produced a letter yesterday received from Mando, wherin Robert Hutchenson advized of the unfortunate lose of the Agra caphilla, which, notwithstandinge sundrey assurances in writtinge given as well by the generall of the Decans forces as the corronell of that regiment that encountered the caphilla, was by them spoyled and pillaged and many of our people wounded in itts defence.[1] Itt was therfore propounded to the Sea Counsell whether restitution should bee presently sought on their shippes, which about this time are dispeedinge for Red Sea, or (in regard of the latenes of the monsone) bee deferred for a more convenyentt seasone; which diversly discussed, itt was opined by the Sea Counsell that satisfaction might bee presently obtayned, eyther by seasing on their juncks before arrived att Red Sea, or in their returne thence for these partes; whereuppon the Surratt Counsell, agreeing with them in opinion, doe det[e]rmine that noe delaye shalbee made in prosecuting the said attempte for restitution, but that itt shall this yeare out of hand bee putt in execution by either

[1] A Dutch letter from Masulipatam (*Hague Transcripts*, 1st Series, vol. iv. No. 139) says the robbery took place about a day's journey from Māndū. The Dutch caravan, which had travelled down with the English, had been compelled to stop at the latter place, owing to the desertion of their camel-drivers, and thus escaped pillage.

the wayes before prescribed; and that for the reasons following, viz. first, the timely seasure with this monsone, if one of the fleete be forthwith dispeeded therto, is nott unlykely: secondly, that wee bee nott prevented by the Dutch next yeare, whoe have commission for the licke exployte: thirdly, that albeitt shee should misse of the Dabull or Chaull juncks through late dispeed, yett shee may light on other vessells of Diew, &c., to defray chardg att least, though procure not restitution for the present losse, these vessells usuallye arriveinge in those seas not beefore the monethe of Maye, as is averred by divers of the Sea Counsell now presentt: fourthly, that in case shee should bee prevented of all the former hopes, ther is yett a further refuge by surprisinge and enforceing the ransom of all the aforesaid vessells in porte: and lastlie, faylinge of expectation in the alleaged, shee may in hir returne to Surratt awaite the whole fleete off junckes att their usuall land fall on this coast.' For this service the *London* is chosen, 'nott only in regard of hir force if attempted by the Portingall there or heere, and that shee is a good sayler and of more countenance then a smaller shippe for that attempt, butt alsoe for distribution of men into such vessells as shee shall surprise; besides which it is well knowne to us that there are many great shippes to the southwards already which wantt ladinge, wherby shee may the better bee spared for this imploymentt. Further, in regard the shippes this yeare apoynted for England cannot there possible arrive till after the season limited by the Company [*see* p. 235], itt was propounded in what fitt place of refreshing and securest from dainger they should spend their interim of time; which by the opinion and experyence of such of this Counsell as have bine heretofore imployed to the Red Sea is avouched, and ever was before this proposition came to question, that Mocha, both for preservation of mens healthes and assurance of plentifull refreshinge, is the place of gretest certaintie for soe longe time of winteringe, and one the contrary St. Lawrence held both doubtfull and daingerous, as well in regard that three or four monethes residence with soe many men may verye likely begett a scarsety of refreshmentts (after expenc of those peopells overplus of stores), wherby the shippes company may bee exposed to daingerous extremeties, as that if any force from Portingall by the carrecks or gallyones putting in to those partes (which tis knowne

ofte times they have done), our laden shippes may bee indaingered by to much disadvantadge if assaulted; and finally itt will bee a good strenghtning one to the other in case of any attempt, but espetially the *Londons* assistance will bee of great consequence in the next yeares encounter with the Portingalls threatened by our prepareing adversary Ruferrera; which with the former reasones duely weighed, itt is generally decreed that Mocha shalbe the randevoos for their this yeares winteringe. Lastlie was had to consideration whither the said shippes intended by Gods grace for England shall returnè againe to this porte in company of the *London* or nott; wherin was considered that after their departure [from] Mocha, they must yett of necessety attend either in sum other porte or att sea untill the begining of November before they can proceed on their voyage; that this place in that intrem will yeld them comfortable refreshing for their people; that their strength and countenance may assiste to encounter, and by Gods grace preventt, the enimies stratagems if prosecuted against the next yeare, whether they possese themselves of this porte or otherwise, as is lickelye and rumored they doe intend; besides that our masters will receive great content by the true intelligence of the state of their affayres as well with us in India, as their expected fleete att sea, if God shall blesse them hether in sauftie. Which with all other reasons duly debatted and considered, itt was generally concluded they should by Gods permission repaire againe to Surratt att the usuall season yearely enjoyned in the Honourable Companies commissions to other fleets assigned thither. Further, itt is considered by waye of causion that in regard of the resolution expressed in the fourth reason to the first proposition ther may sum scruple or doubte bee alleaged in behalfe of such our countrimen, marchants, as are now resident and tradinge in the parts of Turky, that by such enforcementt within the juridiction of the Grand Signior his porte our said countrymen may suffer detriment ether in estate or boddie in revenge of such attempt. It is generally therfore concluded that that poynt authorising the surprizall of those junckes in port shall stand in noe further force then shalbe aproved of by future resolution of the Counsell that shalbe ordayned to the orderinge of that and the other mentioned affaires.' (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD ABOARD THE *LONDON* BY THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF SURAT, THE CHIEF COMMANDER AND MASTERS OF THE FLEET, MARCH 24, 1621 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 26).

'Itt was determined that in regarde the monsone was alredy farr spent, and little hope for the *London* to obtayne the end of our designe by hir departure toward the Red Sea, before dispeed of the rest of the fleete, as in former consultation enordered, the said order in the poynt of hir dispatche is absolutly revocked and contradicted, and shee enordered to attend untill the *Hart* and *Robuck* shall bee prepared to procede in company, and all of them to continue together to the effecting of such designementts as by commission of the Counsell of Surratt they shalbe directed unto.'[1] (½ *p.*)

ROBERT HUGHES AT PATNA TO THE FACTORS AT AGRA, MARCH 31, 1621 (*Factory Records, Patna*, vol. i. p. 24).

Has now received the full sum remitted, and has already invested the greater part of it. 'In my last I advized you howe I had cleared with Muckrob Con for those thinges delivered into his circare, to saye, for the parda[2] or peece of tapestrye, 300 rupes; as much for the greate looking glasse; 50 rupes for 2 pieces moheres[3]; and 280 rupes for 280 pices weight amber beades. Hee is at present removed from hence and gon for Helabaze[4], and doubtles will for Agra; whoe yf come to you, I praye demaund of his sonne, Shek Alaboxe[5], 18 rupes for two Bulgare hydes delivered him. And thus have you breflye thefecte of what hath passed with us in our afayeres since my last. And now I entreate you take notice what likwise hathe hapned by disaster. The 24th presant, beinge Saterdaye, about noune, at the west parte of the subarbes belonginge to this citye, at least a course without the walles, in th' Allum gange[6], a tirable fier kindled, which

[1] From this point the Surat Consultations are missing till July 20, 1622.

[2] Pers. *parda*, 'a curtain'; whence the familiar *purdah* for a curtain screening women from the sight of men.

[3] Mohairs.

[4] Allahābād.

[5] Blochmann (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, vol. i. p. 544) mentions Muqarrab Khān's son Rizqullah, and his adopted son Masīhā the poet; but says nothing of this Shaikh Allāh Bakhsh.

[6] There is still a *thānā* of Alamganj in suburban Patna.

havinge consumed al those partes, by the fource of a stronge andye [1], brake into the citte and within the space of two greese [2] came into the verye harte therof, where our aboade is; whoe beinge enviorned with neighboringe choperes [3] (wherof indeede the whole cittye consistes), it was no more then tyme to looke to our owne, which were not many, yet more then in so littell a warninge could bee conveyed of, althoughe I wanted not th' asistance of almost a hundred of my workmen then at worke. But where the contrary element was wantinge, it was littele bote to contend with the furye of thother; and therfor gave waye to its voyolence of fourse, to save that which most requiered ayde in this nesesitye, which was the mayne of our maisteres goods then under charge, which by good helpe I conveyed by a back waye into a stone house neare adjoyninge. But before yt was entirlye efected, a choper before my chamber toke fyer, and in an instant was consumed, as also the chamber itselfe and all that therin was, save my accompts and monyes, which with as much dificultye as dainger I atayned; of ought elce not anye signe lefte of what it was; wherof belonginge to the Companye in a chest was theise pertickuleres: the remaynder of the bone lace, 16 peeces; the amell [4], safron and one peece mohere, with some verouerds [*see* p. 198] of silke taken, and other trifells standinge in the tankes, which, with all that was once myne and the litell houshould stufe wee had, was entierlye lost. The rest throughe Gods providence had an unexpected deliverance. From hence it proseeded estward unto the verye scirtes of the towne, where, wantinge more combustable matter to mayntayne it selfe, was constreyned to stinke and goe out, havinge lefte behinde litell save ruines of olde walles, ettc. The infinite losses of all men by this disaster are almost incredible to bee reported, besides men, woemen, and children registerde satties [5], upwards of three hundred. And so much lett sufize for relation herof.' On the 28th they received from Agra further bills for Rs. 5,000, stated to be written at 40 days 'bandye mudet' [*see* p. 236 *n.*], but really made out at 45. Two of the bills were at once accepted, but the third was at first

[1] Hind. *āndhī*, 'a gale' or 'tempest'.
[2] See p. 147 *n.*
[3] Hind. *chhappar*, 'a thatched roof.'
[4] Enamel.
[5] The Sanskrit *satī* simply means 'a good woman', 'a true wife,' but it came to be specially applied to one who consummated her devotion by burning herself with her dead husband. Here the word is extended to persons of both sexes burnt by accident.

rejected, the shroffs saying it was 'not by theire shawe [1], but by one Calyane [Kalyān] of Agra', whose 'gamoshtye [2]' has now left Patna. They have, however, since accepted the bill, whereupon Hughes, 'to avoyde sutter jegres [3],' discounted it. The shroffs intend to 'natcare [4]' the bill if necessary, and 'use our cusmonna [*see* p. 253 *n.*] for recoverye of the debte there from the said Calyane'. If future bills were made out 'at twise sevene dayes berbust [5],' 'theire would bee much save in the deheig [6],' especially if they employed as speedy a 'cassad' [*see* p. 145 *n.*] as the last, who came in eleven days. 'The exchange hence to Agra is at present but 1¼ rup[ees] per cent. lose betwene the tasye sickaw [7] and the hondye [*see* p. 85 *n.*] rupeye'; so it would be more profitable to draw on Agra than to await bills from thence. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

ROBERT HUGHES AT PATNA TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, MARCH 31, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 26).

Money received from Agra and invested. Accounts cleared with Muqarrab Khān. 'Fifteene dayes since hee departed this cittye and is gon to courte, and Prince Perviz dalye expected here, whose servants hathe alredy umull' [*see* p. 236 *n.*]. Description of the recent fire, which 'in lese then foure houres consumed almost all the towne'. Receipt of further funds from Agra on the 28th. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, AT SEA [8], TO PRESIDENT FURSLAND AT BATAVIA, APRIL 9, 1621 (*O. C.* 950).

Congratulates him on his 'advancement in India'. 'God, in the behalfe of my imployers, hathe bine pleased to visite the Company

[1] i. e. their correspondent at Agra. 'Shawe' is the Hind. *shāhū*, 'a banker.'

[2] Hind. *gomāshta*, 'an agent.'

[3] Hind. *sattā*, 'a bond,' and *jhagrā*, 'a quarrel.'

[4] Hind. *nakār*, 'a writing on the face of a bill intimating its rejection.'

[5] Pers. *barbast*, 'usage,' or 'custom'.

[6] Hind. *dahyek* or *deyek*, 'ten-one,' i. e. a discount of ten per cent.

[7] A 'newly-coined' (Pers. *tāza-sikkā*) rupee.

[8] 'Frome aborde the *Hart*, 8 leaugs to the southwards of Damon.' The English fleet for the Red Sea, consisting of the *London*, *Hart*, *Roebuck*, and *Andrew*, left Swally on April 6. The *Eagle* and a Dutch pinnace, the *Good Fortune*, parted from them about three days later, bound for Achin and Batavia; and this letter was doubtless sent by the former.

by losse of theire Agra caphilo, not knowen yet whether for a punishement to them, or judgment to those that did it, whose warrant of securytie (never before failed) drew it into theire power. And because I was prepared home before this misfortune hapened, I purpose to be an actor in the recovery, if God be pleased to deliver them into our handes; which in regard of the lateness of the season, some do distrust we shall not recover Mocha, in which case we have onely Mesulapatnam to winter in, whence the *Hart* and *Roebuck* are to proceed for England, and the *London* with a prize pinace to returne for Surat, to prosecute the Counsells further directione, whoe I thinke will not give it over untill they have reseved full satisefactione. But if we recover the Red Sea, then dothe our whole fleete returne unto Suratt, and the homeward bound shippes to proceed thence in October in their voyage for England, which God in mercy make prosperous.' Recommends to his favour Thomas Taylor, the master of the *Eagle*. Commendations to [Thomas] Brockedon. (*Copy*. 1 *p*.)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, ABOARD THE *HART*, TO THE COMPANY, APRIL 10, 1621 (*Abstract only*. *Factory Records*, *Miscellaneous*, vol. i. p. 108).[1]

'139,000 mam[ūdīs] in goods sent to the Southwards in the *Charles*. All the fine goods sould. Our corrall found such opposition that wee were inforced to give the Governor 1,100 r[ial]s of eight, and 2,000 mam[ūdīs] more in the under price of lead. Twenty-eight chests of corrall sould to good profitt. Upon the foresaid bribe wee obtained proclamation for our free trade.' Hughes sent to Patna, and Rastell to Ahmadābād. 'Giles James accomptant in Suratt. Edward Haines and Robert Hutchinson sent with goods to Brampore.' Details of sales. 'Wee tooke up all the monies wee could at intrest: 106,000 ma[hmūdīs] at Suratt and 50,000 in other places.' Disposal of money received, &c. Are surprised that the Company have confirmed Salbank for 'the Red Seas imployment', as before they judged him unfit. The

[1] This letter was evidently sent by the Dutch pinnace to Batavia, to be forwarded from thence. Although Kerridge's name only is given, it is the Surat factors' formal letter to the Company, narrating all that had happened since the previous spring.

order in the sea commissions restraining the ships from extraordinary expense of fresh victuals at Surat should be continued. It is understood that the Company wish the factors to refuse in future to supply money for such superfluous expenditure. It is necessary to instruct the commanders not to allow the seamen to come up to Surat; 'wee cannot reforme them.' The Ahmadābād factors blamed for not sending down their accounts in good time. 'Your authoritie given us here to dispose of your shipping is observed, and found your commaunders conformable.' They deny that they entertain idle persons or send away those appointed by the Company to this factory. John Leachland is ordered home. Pike was entertained because of Leachland's sickness. As to a missing parcel of cochineal, and lack of weight in ivory and lead. 250 maunds of the latter deficient. 'Your commission for the future shalbe observed in the receiveing, &c., of all goods by number and waight.' No recovery yet made for the fourteen chests of indigo lost, but they are doing their best to obtain satisfaction. 'Manie pettie rebellions in this countrye since.' They have communicated to Agra and Ahmadābād the Company's censure for not sending home the particular weight of each bale of indigo. 'The newe indico doth much decrease in weight.' 'The reason of the falling and riseing of indico.' For 'provisions of your lynen' they have done their best and have made trial in divers places. The Company must advise them which sorts they prefer. Care will be taken at Ahmadābād in packing and receiving indigo. Twenty-eight fardles have been sent home 'of a new packing' for trial. They will be careful to see that no dirt or stones be packed in the fardles. 'It would be prejudiciall to dissolve your factorie at Amadavaz.' In future they will use half a maund of the best wool in packing each bale of calico. They will discontinue the supply of 'eranees' [*see* p. 62] and coloured baftas, except crimsons and carnations. They hope to send 5,000 pieces of 'watchett baftas'. Four pieces of 'dimittees[1]' sent. 'You shall have no more long nor extraordinary broad baftees.' No turmeric to be got at present. Supply of gum-lac, carpets, sealing-wax, Bengalia silk, quilts, conserves, &c. 'Mattes of

[1] The origin of the term 'dimity' is still doubtful: see the remarks in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

canes provided for dennedge[1].' 'The number from henceforth upon your callicoes shalbe the prices they cost.' The Agra factors will enter the number, colour, and length of each broadcloth sold, and the Ahmadābād factors will note all bargains plainly 'and what sand they putt into each bale'. Death of John Browne, and disposal of his estate. 'Thomas Kerridge retourneth and Thomas Rastell succeedeth him in place.' 'William Biddulph will retourne. Hee hath compounded for the great court debt long owinge. Robert Hewes to succeed William Biddulph in the courts agentshipp. Staying of the Surat junck must be attempted. Redd Sea busines thought upon. Noe tradinge for conveniency att Dabull. Wee advertised the Guzeratts of the expectation or doubt of Danes, French, and Dutch in the Redd Sea, &c. Articles of the Union[2] receaved. Your servants noe doubt will hold them, but wee doubt how their[s?] will keepe them. Noe saltpeeter about Suratt.[3] Corasan silke. Supplie for Persia against the next yeare wilbe made.' Sale of their English commodities. 'A resoluccion of stoppinge the Princes juncke for procuringe libertye to land our corrall and redressing some other wrongs. The jewells and quicksilver sent to the courte. Diamonds or other jewells besett with diamonds are lesse esteemed then formerly.' 'Our rials are not suffered to be exported.' 'Some investments wee will make privately for Mocha against the coming of the next shipps.' The Company's injunctions for investing 40,000 rials for Sumatra and Java noted. 'Your retournes for England are allwaies first provided, and then for other places according to your meanes left. According to the largnes of your stock in this countrie you maie expect your retournes. The next yeare you maie expect large retournes. Your commissions given for defence and offence of the Portugalls seeme to bee too weake, considering their open hostillity against you. They have noe inclynation to anie peace except it bee made betweene both the Kings Majesties.' 'Edward Haynes

[1] Dunnage; i. e. for placing under or between the bales in stowing them in the ship, to prevent chafing or damage by water.

[2] The 'Treaty of Defence' between the Dutch and the English.

[3] One of the earliest references to what afterwards became an important branch of the Company's commerce. We know from the Court Minutes that in England, while the demand for saltpetre was increasing, the supply from the usual sources was diminishing; hence, probably, their inquiry as to the possibility of obtaining a supply from India.

could not bee called from Brampore to goe for the Red Sea this winter. John Goodman [Goodwin] and Henry Edmonds have had notice of the augmentation of their wages.' They recommend William Martin to the Company's consideration. Recovery of an old debt. 'Henry Darrell went for Persia. Justinian Offley appointed for Brodera; John Clarke for Amadavaz. Sir Thomas Roes tokens unto the Jesuite [*see* p. 15] and Dutchman[1] shalbe delivered.' 'Most necessarie to restraine your ship masters from vaine expence of powder.[2] Your factors desire noe such enterteynments and therefore desire to be freed. Two chirurgions enterteyned in Suratt, the one whereof wee will send for Persia to acquite the charge of the Scottish phisition' [*see* p. 237]. The commanders should be ordered to facilitate the lading of the ships destined for England. Damage to certain bales. 'Walter Harveye dead.' Wills sent home. 'A Germaine enterteined into the factorie, pretended to bee sent out by the Companie. ["But I knowe noe such matter."—*Note by the abstractor.*] Needfull to give your President of Suratt full power over all other your depending factories; and that the President also should sett lymitts unto the Agent at court, seeing the best waie to remedy your wroungs of this people is in your President at Suratt to staie their juncks. Requisite to have a Counsell at Suratt of four sufficient men and a Register constantly resident. One experienced merchant (besides your President and Accomptant) for manie necessarie purposes. Factors to be experienced men. Advise concerninge the Redd Sea trade. The Portugalls have noe great trade in Dabull, yet keepe a factorie there to assist their merchaunts that come, and give licence to the Mores navigation. The proffitt by the vent of our English commodities would defraie the charge of a factorye att Dabull. After Dabull hath made satisfaction for our caphila, wee maie make triall of a factorie there. Batacala [*see* p. 56 *n.*] noe doubt yeildeth store of pepper, but the power of the Portugalls restrayneth the sale of them unto the Kinge of Spaines subjects onely. The *Eagle* departed to the Southwards.' (4½ *pp.*)

[1] Probably Abraham de Duyts, a Dutch jeweller in Shāh Jahān's service (see *The Embassy of Sir T. Roe*, p. 442).

[2] In salutes, which were fired on the arrival and departure of visitors, drinking of healths, &c.

ROBERT HUGHES AT PATNA TO THE FACTORS AT AGRA, APRIL 11, 1621 (*Factory Records, Patna*, vol. i. p. 27).

The bills for Rs. 3,000 have been duly received and accepted. Inquires the prices of raw silk in Agra. The serbandy has fallen 'a savoye' [*see* p. 194] in price; so they can produce the raw silk much cheaper. 'Wee have ventured 500 rup[ees] to Mucksoudabaude [*see* p. 194] for samples [of] silke of the sortes wee provide, rather for experience of that place then the necesitye therof, beinge encouradged therunto by good liklyehood of principall commoditye and at much easier rates then theise partes afordes. The voyadge is but two monthes.' 'Sultan Parvez is shortlye expected here, and yf you intende a setled imployment, it would not bee enconvenient that you sent us somthinge wherwith wee might make causmana[1] with him.' (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND DUTCH PRESIDENCIES AT BATAVIA FOR REGULATING THE JOINT TRADE AT PULICAT, APRIL 13, 1621 (*Treaties*, vol. i. p. 109).[2]

I. The Dutch authorities will either provide the English factors with a house (charging a reasonable rent for the same) or allot a site on which they may build for themselves, and in the meanwhile will find them convenient lodgings. II. The English merchants will inform the Dutch what sorts and quantities of cloth they desire to buy. If the latter intend to purchase any of the same kind, the goods will be bought jointly at a price agreed upon and afterwards divided. III. The English share of the charges and maintenance of the fort and the wages of the garrison is fixed by the seventh article of the Treaty of Defence. If they cannot furnish the victuals or warlike munition required they will pay for any brought by the Dutch from Batavia at the rate fixed upon for the Moluccas, Amboyna, and Banda. Provisions bought in the

[1] This term appears in an earlier letter, where the Patna factors, writing to Agra, say: 'You maye thanke Shame [Shyām] for his cassmanna, though his letter of credditt was of no validitye.' It is probably the Hind. *khās nāma*, 'a letter of introduction,' referring to some testimony of their trustworthiness which the factors carried with them to Patna to facilitate their dealings with the shroffs at the latter place. On p. 248, it seems to refer to the general farmān given to the English by Jahāngīr.

[2] A copy made in 1788. It is not clear whether the date of this document is Old Style or New.

country will be charged at cost price. IV. Damages to the fort, its ordnance, provisions, &c., will be repaired at the joint expense. V. The wages and maintenance of the Dutch merchants 'and other inferior persons' shall not be charged as garrison expenses. VI. The servants of both Companies are expressly prohibited from private trade in cloth, under penalty of confiscation of the goods and further punishment. VII. Although these common charges might strictly be held to commence from the publication of the Treaty, the Dutch have agreed to waive for the present any claim for expenditure anterior to the arrival of the English at Pulicat. VIII. The Dutch will render to the English at Pulicat a monthly account of the charges for the garrisons, &c., and the latter will thereupon pay their share to the Dutch Governor. (*Copy. Carpentier and Dedel sign for the Dutch, and Fursland and Brockedon for the English.* 11 *pp.*)

WILLIAM METHWOLD AT MASULIPATAM TO THE COMPANY, MAY 12, 1621 (*Abstract only. Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i. p. 84).[1]

Complains that, after serving them for nearly five years, they have listened to false accusations and called him home without hearing his defence. Diamonds bought and sent home in charge of George Ball. He wrote on January 23 by way of Surat [*not extant*]. Some of the goods ordered by the Company from Surat might be furnished from Masulipatam. There is store of gum-lac to be had at the latter place, of two sorts, and at cheaper rates than formerly. 'Of Musilpatann callicoes I sent musters to Surrat to be sent for England. The Dutch ship *Medenblick* here is most laded with long callicoes, whereof I have bought 200 peeces to

[1] Cf. a letter from the Dutch chief at Masulipatam, Andries Souri, dated May 22 (N.S.), 1621, in the *Hague Transcripts* (1st Series, vol. iv. No. 139). He mentions the arrival of the *Bear* and *Medemblick*; the coming of a French factor from Achin, who applied to the Governor for permission to establish a factory at Masulipatam, but was told that the request could not be considered until Beaulieu brought his ships thither; the dispersal by the Portuguese of a fleet of native boats bringing carpets from Bengal to sell at Masulipatam; the establishment of the Danes at Tranquebar; the receipt of an invitation from 'Mirjhasaj', Mogul Governor of 'Mamenipatan', to the Dutch to settle in his port; it lies in 20¼ or 21 degrees, and fifteen to twenty miles from Pipplī, and was formerly a place of importance, though now decayed owing to the wars, &c. &c.

be sent with the first for England for a triall. The Dutch have bought Corromandell indico at 30 pago[das] the 12½ maunes, ech maun 26 seers. I made a journey (with the Dutch Governor) to the diamond myne [1], and retorned in twelve dayes, with the expence of ten pagodas. The blackes there admired our habitts and complexions. We sawe aboundance, but bought none. We left ech of us a man behinde us with 200 r[ials] a peece to bestowe after we were gone, for they thought we brought aboundance of monie to buy, and therefore helde them deare. Our men, having bestowed their monie in dimons and comyng home, were robd and so lost them all [*see* p. 217]. I have bought since at Musilpatam diamondes for 1,419 pagodes for this account, and for 534 p[agodes] for the account of the retornes from Pegu [*see* p. 209]. Theis I would have sent in this Dutch ship if I had had anie warrant thereunto. The Dutch have bought good store. I have also bought some bezar stones, some for 24 r[ial]s per sere (which is 12 oz.), and some derer. James Cartwright, second to William Methwold, died 6 September, 1620.' Disposal of his estate. William Smith died April 29, 1621. News from Surat regarding the disposal of the fleet, &c. 'Our ships made staie of two Surrat junckes, but dismissed them againe after they had supplyed ours with powder and shott.' 'I received a letter from Syam, whereby I finde that Musilpatan goods make two for one in Siam. The factors at Jaquatra neglect to supply Syam.' 'The English ship *Beare* and the Dutch *Medemblicke* arrived at Musilpatan for the Dutch. They could procure no pepper at Achin under 64 rials the bahar.' News from Achin and Jakatra. 'A Frensh ship having in the Red Sea sped not well, she came to Achin also for pepper and procureth trade there, but lyeth long and performeth little. Hir men die apace. A Frensh factor cometh to Musilpatan to make preparacion for trade against the coming of their ship. A report that the Dutch have surprized the other Frensh neere Jaquatra [2]. A relacion of the Danes ships and their plantacions. The Dutch did chace a frigat of the Danes, thincking them to

[1] See p. 208. Purchas calls Methwold's companion 'Sir Andreas Socory, Governor of the Fort, Guide in Pallecat': for which we should read 'Signor Andreas Soury, Governour of the Fort Geldria in Pallecat'.

[2] These ships belonged to Beaulieu's fleet, which sailed from Honfleur in October,

be Portugales, &c.[1] I expect my Nunc Dimittis, and hope to come in the ferst ship, according to your absolute command of *Send him home*.' (1½ *pp*.)

ROBERT HUGHES AT PATNA TO THE FACTORS AT AGRA, MAY 19, 1621 (*Factory Records, Patna*, vol. i. p. 28).[2]

Bills for Rs. 8,000 received; also the list of goods required for Surat. What goods they had already provided were this morning laden on two carts for Agra, 'and have made theire first manzull' [*see* p. 74 *n*.]. They have agreed to pay 1¼ rupees 1 'tuke[3]' per maund net, which is the current rate of the caravan they go with. A native has been sent in charge, with six 'tierandazes' [*see* p. 74 *n*.] for a guard. They have sent all their coarse silk, as no purchaser could be found at Patna. Some fine goods would be useful for presents. (*Copy*. 1 *p*.)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, JUNE 2, 1621 (*Ibid*., vol. i. p. 29).

Acknowledges the receipt of bills for a further sum of Rs. 8,000. He is very sorry to hear of the death of Fettiplace. 'Wee apprehend Surrats resolution for the desolvinge this factory (our this yeres provisions beinge accomplished).' Hughes cannot repair to Agra, as desired, until the end of the rains, owing to 'the heate of our present busines and Mr. Parkers indisposition of helthe'. 'The Princes[4] arivall here with so greate a retienewe hath made this place to narowe for his entertaynment, which hathe caused the removinge diverse, as well merchants as otheres, from theire aboades, whose houses hee hath liberalye bestowed on his servants; amongst which couppelment wee are displaced, and have bine theise ten dayes wandringe to cover ourselves and goods, thoughe but with grase, to debar the heate and raynes, now in excesse; which havinge now attayned throughe the helpe of Mr. Monye[5], wee endevor agayne the plasinge our silkwynders.' (*Copy*. 1½ *pp*.)

1619: see *Memoires du Voyage du General Beaulieu*, in Thevenot's *Relations de divers Voyages Curieux* (1696).

[1] See *Hague Transcripts*, 1st Series, vol. iv. No. 138.

[2] Hughes notes that he wrote at the same time and to the same effect to Surat.

[3] Hind. *takā*, a somewhat varying fraction of a rupee: two pice in Hindūstān, three in Gujarāt, and four in the Deccan, while commonly in Bengal the word is used for the rupee itself.

[4] Prince Parwīz (*see* p. 236).

[5] By paying a high price.

THE SAME TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JUNE 2, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 30).

They have noted the order to dissolve this factory at the end of the season and return to Agra, where Hughes is to succeed Fettiplace. He cannot, however, leave Patna until the recovery of Parker, 'whoe almost theise three monthes hathe layne daingerouslye sicke of the blodye fluxe.' They have now received from Agra in all Rs. 29,000 for this year's investments, in addition to money obtained by the sale of goods. They propose to draw for a further Rs. 10,000, as they hear that Young has little hope of procuring half the narrow cloth expected from him, and so they must endeavour to provide the balance at Patna. Seventeen bales of silk and calicoes were dispatched to Agra on May 18. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

WILLIAM BIDDULPH AT AGRA TO THE FACTORS AT ISPAHĀN, JUNE 15, 1621 (*Factory Records*, *Persia*, vol. i. p. 3).

They have no doubt heard from Surat that the fleet returned in safety from Persia in February last. Two of the ships were fully laden for England, but, their sailing having been deferred until too late, the whole fleet has now gone to Mokha to winter, and President Kerridge with them. Last March 'the Dechanes, beinge in warrs with this Kinge', seized an English 'caffyla' of 350 camels, carrying 'the whole investments the last yeare in this place, Puttana and Semiana'; but it is hoped that 'the Dabullers wilbe forced to give satysfaction to the utmost farthinge'. 'Some twoo months passed heere arrived some nine or ten Dutch to setle a factorye heere, who brought with them certeyne comodities.' Francis Fettiplace died of a fever on May 15. The bearers are 'two gentlemen, Venetians, who are not unknowne to you'. 'They are my auntient accquaintance . . and have shewed much love to our nacion to theyr powers.' Begs that they may be well treated. At the same time he requests 'a recyprocall and mutuall correspondence' between the two factories. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

ROBERT YOUNG AT 'SEMEANE' TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, AUGUST 2, 1621 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2123, *f.* 47).

Has bought upwards of 2,000 pieces of narrow calicoes, and hopes to get 5,000 in all by the time of his departure, which will probably

be about September 25, in order to reach Agra by the middle of October. He thinks it unnecessary to have a permanent factory here, as 'semmeanes' can be bought as cheaply at Agra, charges considered. As regards Patna, the factors there will know best, but he holds it a more fitting place than Samāna, as it is reported to 'affoorde greater qua[ntities] of well-made cloth, which is more fitting our co[untry] then the cloth of these parts, being for the m[ost part] of a slighter makeing and of uncertayne len[gths] and breadths'. (*A much mutilated copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

Robert Hughes at 'Lackhoare' to the President and Council at Surat, August 3, 1621 (*Factory Records, Patna*, vol. i. p. 31).

It is impossible to send any more goods until October, 'here beeinge noe other convayance to Agra but by carts, which by reason of the rottenes of the wayes in the season of the raynes passeth nott.' They have up to the present bought 9,500 pieces of calico, more than two-thirds 'at or under two rup[ees] nett the piece, as bought browne from the loome, and are the desired breadthes, to say, the second sorte generally knowne by the name of Jafferchanes [*see* p. 193], which both for length and breadth will parallel, if nott exceed, your narrowe Barroch baftaes. The remaynder are fyner, broader, and hyer pryzed, to say, from all pryzes from two to six rup[ees] the peece.' In view of their recall, they have ceased from buying silk; 'neither have we mett with any more sahans.' Parker is at Patna buying lignum aloes, of which various sorts are to be had at from two to ten rupees the seer of 33 pices nett. Gum-lac can be purchased for 4½ rupees the maund, but, freight considered, would probably be bought cheaper in Agra. Their amber beads are not worth more than eight or nine rupees the sere of 14 pices. For the price of coral refers them to Parker. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

John Parker at Patna to the Same, August 7, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 32).

'Of the price and esteeme of currall in these parts . . . I have enquyred of the merchants which deales most in that commodity, who, as they say, never saw unpollished currall brought into these

parts, which, if I mistake nott, ys the sort you seeke vent for. In other places yt ys much spent to burne with the dead; which here they use nott. And for pollishinge or cuttinge yt into beads, heer are nott workmen that hath skill therein; and therefore noe commodity for this place. Pollished currall will sell here, but in small quantity; and at what pryce I cannott informe you, the quallity thereof beeing soe different. Currall beads ys very well requested for transporte into Bengala, and great quantityes thereof will yearly vend, to say for 50 or 60,000 rup[ees], at or about the pryzes followinge, viz. those of 12 beads to a tanke[1] at 6 tanks for a rup[ee]: of 6 to a tanke at 2 tanks for a rup[ee]: of 4 to a tanke at 1¾ tanks per rup[ee]: of 3 to a tanke at 1½ per rup[ee]: and soe accordinge to theire bignes. For the sale of our remaynder of amber beads . . . I have shewed them to dyvers merchants since Mr. Hughes his beeing at Lackhoare, butt cannott attayne to above 9 rup[ees] the sere, at which rate rather then retourne them for Agra would putt them off, butt yt ys nott a commodity which yeilds ready mony, and by reason of our sudden departure I dare nott trust them out, though should be promysed payment within ten daies. For the future sendinge of which commodity I cannott anymate you, yt beeing a commodity that will nott sell in any great quantity, but in small parcells, as for 100 and 150 rup[ees], which will nott goe far therein; soe a small quantity will furnish a great many of these merchants. I have nott yett provyded the gum-lacke, nor elce for musters, the merchants, brokers, shop-keepers ettc. of the citty beeinge all in trouble for mony which the Prince requyers them to furnish him with; soe that none dares be seene to sell a pyce worth of goods. But now he beeinge gone, I shall soone imploy the small matter intended therein.' (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

ROBERT HUGHES AND JOHN PARKER AT PATNA TO THE COMPANY, AUGUST 14, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 33).[2]

The goods provided last year were, on their way to Surat, 'robed and spoyled by the Decans armye.' The President and Council

[1] A jeweller's weight, equivalent to four *māshas*.

[2] The original letter (much damaged) forms *O. C.* 981. It bears the impress of a seal, with a Persian inscription giving Hughes's name with the addition of *saudāgar-i-Angrīz* (English merchant).

promised an early supply of money for a fresh investment, but it was March before any remittance was received. In all, Rs. 32,000 have been sent them, and the sale of their goods brought in Rs. 4,000 more. They were directed to purchase 100 maunds of Bengal silk and 20,000 pieces of 'amberty callicoes of Lackhoare'; but their funds will not suffice for such a quantity, and Surat can spare no more money. They hope, however, to get together 10,000 pieces. Of sahan cloth they have only been able to procure twelve 'corges', costing 78 rupees net. Of silk the supply will not exceed 25 maunds. They hope to leave Patna with their goods about the end of September, and will send full particulars from Agra. (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

WILLIAM BIDDULPH AND JOHN YOUNG AT AGRA TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, AUGUST 22, 1621 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2123, *f.* 54).

Have not been able to procure all the proofs they needed in the matter of 'Herpa[xad's]' [Hariprasād's] debt; so they must leave the prosecution of it to Surat. Nor can they yet supply the account requested of their cattle. 'Wee perceave if againe you attempt the stayeing the Princes junck you will execute it to more resolute purpose; desiring it have noe worse success then the former, for at that time it procured your redresse for your then present occasion, with little or noe molestation to the Honnorable Company [ ].' 'Concerning the exporting of your ryalls and desireing to land them at Goga [*see* p. 29] with the assistance of Asufchans perwanna [1], wee have bin something large therein in our former; the Nababob [*sic*] [2] absolutely refuseing to give any wryting to that purpose, the Prince being soe neere and himself soe farr of, and that it will but breed us more trouble and discontent to offer to land parte of our goods at Surratt and parte in other ports that is not in his custodye. Soe that heere is noe relefe for that busines to be expected from hence, but must use meanes to the Prince himselfe for redresse of such injuries, which if shall denye, or not give eare unto it, the stopping of his shipp will force [ ].' As to the provision and dispatch of goods. Indigo will be dear, 'such unaccustomed raynes . . . hath drowned the greatest parte of new indicoe in the countryes.' They will observe the orders as

[1] Hind. *parwāna*, 'a written order.'

[2] The Nawāb Āsaf Khān.

to the placing of factors, and have recalled Hughes from Patna, leaving Parker in charge there until Young arrives. It will be necessary that Biddulph should attend the King, especially if the Prince's junk is to be stopped, when explanations are sure to be demanded. 'At present it is uncertaine whether hee make his progresse for Adsmeere, Mandoo, or Lahore.' For the differences with the customs officials, they can procure no certificate in their favour, 'and Asufchan will give noe wryting at all to the Princes people. The Kings officers denye to give any wryting, the prices of our comoditie being made per the Prince and his officers in Jadoe Rayes [Jādū Rāy's] duffters[1], whoe was then Mere Saman[2] for the Prince, hath all the severall prices written, whoe cannot denye the certifieing the truth of the severall rates.' Force the best remedy. Fettiplace's estate. Some of the quicksilver has been sold, but the ivory is still on hand. (*Copy. Damaged.* 4 *pp.*)

MATTHEW DUKE AT MASULIPATAM TO THE COMPANY, AUGUST 27, 1621 (*O. C.* 983).

'Your ship the *Globe* (after sum few daies staie at Pelicat and ther landing her merchants, etc.) arived here in the road of Mesulepatnam the 15th June, passing by Petapolie without staie, which, yf [*sic*], might have prevented a great deale of troble and much danger, for at foure or five daies warning wee could have ladne 120 fardles of goods without troble or danger; but it so chanced that the said ship staying longe at Mesulepatnam at last at unseasonable time made tryall to com for Petapolie, which, had that tryall ben but one daie sooner, th' atempt had ben effected to content, but missing the good opertunety, after eight or ten daies tryall and not able to obteine the port, returned to Mesulepatnam. It was then high time to think on sum other corse how to get our goods to Mesulepatnam, and the 5th curant I had absolute order to provid boat or boats for transportacion of your goods in Petapolie to Mesulepatnam. The 7th ditto I imbarqued all your said goods, 158 fardles, besides much other provisons and lumber, being made beleeve that the next daie wee should passe the bar and set saile for Mesulepatnam; but it was the 12th before wee atempted it, when erly in the morning, the wind and tide serving, wee set saille. But

[1] Hind. *daftar*, a 'register' or 'account'. [2] Hind. *mīr-sāmān*, 'head-steward.'

being but entred the bar, the wind turnes contrary, the tide being then against us to returne, were forced to com to anker, but the suffe of the seaes caried us violently on the shoule, where wee laie beating the space of one houre without hoope of being saved. But loe in time of moast extremety (when helpe of man could not prevaill) the mightie King of heaven and earth, our good and gratious God, did so provide for our saffety that a little asterne the barque there was deep water into the which the barque was beatne by the waves, and soe mersefully saved from wrecke. Gods holy and blissed name be praysed therefore. Haveing escaped this great danger, I presently caused beter cables and ankers to be provided; which being fitted, the nex daie with helpe of four boats wee passed the bar, and the 14th came salfely to the *Globe* in the road of Mesulepatnam. But it being sunset before our arivall, could not take in our goods that night, whan at nine of the clocke in the night fell a terible storme of raine with much wind, and wett fourteen of the fardles, so that they were fain to be taken on shoar and dryed.' Some of the bundles got wet again in being carried back to the ship, but the damage is slight. 'The ship the *Globe* set saille emediatly after my departure, and yesterdaie, the 26 curent, before I got on shore was quit out of sight. I pray God prosper her and send her a good and speedy passage to Jackatra. It is thougth good by Mr. Methwold to desolve the factory of Petapolie, for saving of charges; but yf I might have perswaded, Petapolie should have yet continued for one year, till better experience made of Policat, for divers reasons to longe here to incert; but in this little time I have been here in Mesulepatnam I well perceive cloath is dearer then in Petapolie by more then ten per cent. At my leaving Petapolie I left in debts owing to that account only one of 32½ pa[godas], and sould the night I came awaie, at midnight or near that time, all the remainer of our brasse, vizt. 5 ca[ndes], 13 ma[nes], 1 veis [1], sould at 60 pag[odas] new per cande, containing 20 ma[nes]; each mane I doe estem at 26 lb. haberdepoise, and the new pagoda worth about 1½ riall of eight, Spanish money. Also I sould ditto time 36 ca[ndes] of lead at 14½ pa[godas] old per conde, to pay at three monthes. Wee did formerly sell small quanteties at 20, 18, 17, and 16 pa[godas] per cande, till latly

[1] Eight viss made a maund, and twenty maunds one candy.

inordred per Mr. Methwold I sould at last prise mentioned near 60 cand[es]; and had I stayed but four daies more I thinke I should have sould all the rest. This was sould to suffitient cometes [*see* p. 47] to be paid at three monthes time; but coming to Mesulepatnam Mr. Methwold would have no more sould at that prise unles they paid redy mony. The purselaine remaines in statu quo prius, which I locked up and brought the keye with me; th' other goods, being only lead, I left in charge with an Englishman named Richard Smith, a sailer (I having first told over all the bars of lead and carefully taken the contents of each bar according to the stampe marked on them); and I left directions with him, naming the parties that hee might trust in the sale therof, and not to sell, unless for redy mony, to eynie other parte. Yet, to ad farther to my trouble, the verie instant of my departure I had all my mony that I had six daies before paid for custome returned mee, and was glad to give six pa[godas] more to part quietly without farther let. After my arivall in Mesulepatnam, which was the 15th curent, I was much hastned for my accounts, being made beleeve the ship should not staie above three or four daies at most; but throw much hast missing a quarter pa[goda] in my ballance (which is not usually found at first tryall), I was inforced to deliver only a perfect invoise, promising by next conveiance (English or Dutch) to send jornall and leadger with a perfect ballance, which yet shall not in eynie point differ or alter from invoise sent, for at shipes beeing here I coulnot obteyne so much helpe as one man to hould my jornall whilst I pricked over my leadger. I have bin tyed to these tedious accounts now four years, and although I have ernestly requested to be freed therof, yet cannot, but am by Mr. Methwold yet againe aponted for accountant and casheer here in Mesulepatnam. The keeping of these accounts would not be very tedious yf they were ordred by denomenacions of moneyes that hath even parts in it, as 8 ca[sh] to the fanam and 16 fan[ams] to a pagodo, which will produce no les fraction then ½ c[ash], but being kept at 9 c[ash] to the fan[am] and 15 fa[nams] to the pagodo breeds intollarable fractions not fitting merchants accounts, for ther is more troble to reduce the fraction then about all the rest of thaccount; and when all is done, not the value of *3d.* found more or les. But when these thing[s] shall com to the generall bookekeeper to enter,

what a labrinth it will bring him into. But these things would be ordred at home by yourselves that for the future these erors may be avoyded (which I may justly cale erors); and yf I thought I should be tyed to theis intrecat accounts, I would rather serve other waise without wages then with doble wages continue in them, for although I know well enough how to reduce a fraction to his least denomenacion, yet to bee much troubled with them is tedeou[s], and rediculus to keep them in such great account.' He sends an abstract of the invoice of the goods for Jakatra; also particulars of charges. Provisions purchased for the ship and for the English house at Jakatra. *Annexed*: Abstract of goods laden on the *Globe*, amounting to 11,198 pagodas $2\frac{9}{16}$ cash. *Also*, the following list of charges, viz.:—

	Pag.	fan.	cash.
Custom and 'dalalie[1]'	346.	0.	$6\frac{1}{4}$
Gifts (two years)	56.	1.	$8\frac{5}{8}$
Expense of diet (19 months)	286.	3.	$5\frac{1}{4}$
Extraordinaries (ditto)	383.	1.	$7\frac{5}{16}$
Charges of merchandise (ditto)	200.	9.	$0\frac{1}{4}$
Salaries (two years)	433.	10.	0
	1705.	12.	$0\frac{11}{16}$

(*Holograph.* 6 *pp.*)

WILLIAM METHWOLD, MATTHEW DUKE, AND FRANCIS FUTTER AT MASULIPATAM TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, AUGUST 27, 1621 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2123, *f.* 59).

Apologize for their long silence. The attempt of the *Globe* to reach Petapoli failed, and they were consequently forced to bring the goods thence in a native boat, with the result that it was only the [ ] present that the *Globe* sailed. Letters sent 'per Signor Ravesteine[2], bound in the *Sampson* to the Red Sea'. Prices of gum-lac. 'For silke of Bengala to be procured in this place, I am wholy hopeless to effect, for the trade hether is most uncertaine; some yeares noe marchaunts, other whilest noe passadge; and the last yeare (as I have formerly advised) all taken or stranded by the Portugall.' They are glad to hear that Surat has gained more

[1] Hind. *dalālī*, 'brokerage,' 'commission.'

[2] Pieter Gillesz. van Ravesteyn had formerly been the Dutch chief at Surat (*see* p. 15) and was now returning thither from Jakatra, via Masulipatam and the Red Sea.

freedom by stopping the native junks. It would be well to do something of the kind here to relieve them from oppression. 'Even of late a new governor, haveing rented this goverment for 15,000 pag[odas] per annum more then his predecessors, hath devised some parte of this excesse per farmeing (?) out the monopoly of one man onely buying, selling, and changing of all gould and silver brought unto this porte; from whence it happens that wee cannot put of our ryalls but as that onely sharoffe [*see* p. 8 *n.*] please to take them, which is to more losse then wee have reason to stoope unto . . . but did wee staye their shipps, now ready shortly to departe for Pegu, Tannass[ery], and Achine, wee are perswaded they would shortly resolve to graunt our reasonable requests; and this course the Dutch profess to have, and purpose to put it in practize; onely their conveniency, it seemes, deferrs it untill further tyme.' Little demand for coral here. They hear that 'in the kingdom of Adelsha [*see* p. 54], 10 or 12 dayes jorney from this place, at a citty or towne called Lantegree there resides most of those artificers which are accustomed to pollish corrall, for which they have 10 pag[odas] per maen for their workemanship'. The Dutch import fair round coral beads, 'whereunto weare annexed great strings or cords to make waight'; but long beads are more in favour. 'The diamond mine [*see* pp. 208, 255] is shut up, and diamonds at this present both scarse and deere in this place. . . . It is at Jacatra published per the Dutch that these are not perfect, both weaker and more transparent then those of Succadana[1]. Notwithstanding, they continew upon all occasion to buy store, and did send by the *Medenblique* 800 or 1,000 carrete. . . . It is thought the mine will shortly be open againe, and is onely stopt to procure greater rent; which being this yeare raysed' [*torn away*]. 'Pollicat is now stockt both with money and marchaunts, and will in one yeare give proofe of the trade. It is most true you urge how convenient such a retrait weare for our masters affaires upon your coast, the want wherof layes us open to every ones malice and disturbance.' They wish all success to the fleet going to Mokha. Methwold regrets that the Company is displeased with him. '[With?] the newes of the Portingalls reinforceing [Macao? c]ame the certainety of the supply sent from

[1] Sukadana, in Borneo.

Goa to [Ormus?], by the same English surgeons report which escaped from [Macao?] and brought the newes of the lost *Unicorne*.[1] This coast [is] not yet freed of all the Danes, from whome an Einglish woman, [which] came out in their fleet, a maid about 24, upon a ginga[tha][2] came to Pollecat, and was after little stay there honn[estly] married to the preacher of the fort.' The [Dutch?] at Masulipatam and Achin. Abstract sent of the cargo of the *Globe*. They complain that the Company ignore them and have not for many years written to them. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 8 *pp.*) *Annexed*:—Invoice of *Globe*: 'Red percallas,' 'chowters Bengalla,' gum-lac, 'dungries,' red 'dragons elaus,' 'dragon malies,' 'petafrangies,' black 'dragam selaws,' 'canigoalonies,' 'serasses corges,' 'wooven tapes,' 'tappe finnes,' 'anacke dragams,' 'gold thrid wrought in this cloth,' diamonds (173, containing 329 'mangalines[3]'), bezar stones, butter, &c. Total 21,059 [pagodas] : 2 : 8½. (1 *p.*)

WILLIAM BIDDULPH AND JOHN YOUNG [AT AGRA] TO THE SAME [ABOUT SEPTEMBER 8], 1621[4] (*Ibid.*, *f.* 70).

As regards the great jewel, they will obey Surat's instructions to keep it till a higher price be offered or further orders come from the Company. Weight of the great ruby. The pictures they will sell at the best rates possible. All their quicksilver disposed of. The tusks are cracked and split, but they hope to find customers

[1] The *Unicorn*, proceeding in company with the *Royal James* from Bantam to Japan, was towards the end of June, 1620, driven by a storm on the coast of China not far from Macao. The crew got safely on shore, and were thus the first Englishmen to land on the coast of the Celestial Empire. They were well treated by the natives, who sold them two vessels in which to make their way to Jakatra. A second storm, however, separated the pair, and while one succeeded in reaching its destination, the other was captured by the Portuguese and taken into Macao. The crew were imprisoned, but the barber-surgeon, here referred to, in return for medical service to the daughter of the Governor, was set at liberty and made his way to Masulipatam in May, 1621. See *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. i. p. 642, vol. ii. p. 1696; *Hague Transcripts* at I. O., 1st Series, vol. iv. No. 139; *Cocks's Diary*, vol. ii.

[2] Malayālam *channātam*, 'a double-platform canoe made by placing a floor of boards across two boats, with a bamboo railing'; hence also 'a raft' (Port. *jangada*). Cf. *Purchas*, vol. i. p. 315 ('there came aboard two *gingathas* or boats') and p. 631 ('their boat being split in pieces, made a *gingada* of timber').

[3] Telegu *manjali*, the seed of *Adenanthera pavonina*, used as a weight by jewellers. It was about equivalent to a carat.

[4] The copy is not dated, but it is marked as received October 2. Letters from Agra to Surat usually took from twenty-five to thirty days, and from internal evidence the date appears to be as given above.

for them shortly. They regret to hear of the insolence of the Dutch, which they hope will in time be curbed. Letters from 'Semana' advise that [Robert Young] has 50 fardles of calico ready, and hopes to make them up to 70; also that John Willoughby has returned from Lahore with Rs. 4,000, after spending Rs. 1,000 in presents to recover that amount. For this expense they are not responsible, as they advised him 'rather then to give anything of value, to leave what the rest was; yf not received in season to come with Mr. [Robert] Young hether, and wee would procure sufficient order for its recoverie'. 'Our freinds in Brampoore advise us that Mounserechan[1] is revolted from the Decanyes and is come to Brampoore to the Prince, where hee is receaved with great honnour.' The business of Soares is likely to be revived, as he is expected at Burhānpur shortly. The factors wish for copies of the documents connected with the case. There is no copy of the Prince's farmān at Agra; 'therefore hope you can furnish them from thence; yf not, for a smale matter Afzullchans cheefe banian, whoe keepes register of all firmaens given, will give them coppies of both firmaens sent from hence about that businesse.' They wish this troublesome matter well disposed of. 'In a former wee gave you advertisement of divers Sinde marchaunts that weare come hither to complayne to the King that [wee had?] perforce taken their goods at sea [*see* p. 186]; and since they are growne [ ] in prosecuteing that businesse, in soe much that Asulphchan sent for us and wished to give them content, or elce they would complaine to the King, which would be much to our nations dishonner, and for our sakes hee hindered them from their purposes. Wee have absolutely denied to have any such passage, but that wee knew yf they had taken any goods it was the Portingalls, and these people onely subornd by them to complayne against us; but if they could proove that our people had taken any of this Kings subjects, after answer from Surratt wee should give them an answer, and wee doubted not but to content, either in monyes or reasons sufficient to the contrary. Whereupon they shewed the Nabob an inventory of all their goods that weare shipped in that shipp or boate, being taken out of the Customers books there and witnesed by the Customer and all his cheef officers. To which

[1] Mansūr Khān, described later as a 'Portugall renegado'.

wee gave such answers as weare then necessary, and that wee could doe nothing therein untill received reply.' They request speedy instructions, as the complainants are pressing for justice. Thomas Hawkridge understood (and so did they) from previous letters that he had been promoted to a merchant's place, which he has well deserved for his pains taken so many years in these parts in the Honourable Company's service; as, however, it now appears that this was not the intention, they have tried to persuade him to continue an attendant, but he is very unwilling to do so. 'The 6th present the King's peshchanna [1] went out; and to-morrow the King himselfe departs this cittye [2], and in his progresse is intended, as report saith, for Adgmeere and soe for Mandoe; but as yet noe certaintie.' Hughes has not yet arrived from Patna. [Robert] Young writes that if not hindered by the rains he and his goods will reach Agra the 10th proximo. 'By report this hundred yeares there hath not bin such extremitie of raynes, insoe much that most parte of the new indicoe drowned, and the old much improoved.' *P.S.*—Hawkridge started two days ago towards Patna to meet and hasten the factors and their goods. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 4 *pp.*)

Robert Hughes and John Parker at Patna to the Factors at Agra, September 13, 1621 (*Factory Records, Patna*, vol. i. p. 35).

Their letter of August 19 came last night. The orders from Surat [3] cannot now be carried out, as they have practically cleared all their business here and are just about to start. Hughes is to proceed at once, and Parker to follow with the carts in about four days time. They have been obliged to pay 2¼ rupees per maund for carriage to Agra 'carravan burbust' [*see* p. 248], and cannot hope to arrive before October 31. 'The raynes hath bin soe extraordynary this yeare that extraordinary charges cannott any way

[1] Pers. *pīsh-khāna*, 'advance-service,' i.e. tents sent on for erection at the next stopping-place.

[2] He did not really leave till Ābān 12 = October 22 (see Elliot and Dowson's *History*, vol. vi. p. 381). Such delays were common enough, as for one thing it was always necessary to wait for a lucky day.

[3] For the factory to be continued, Parker remaining in charge until the arrival of Young from Agra.

further our goods arryvall.' They hope Thomas Hawkridge will meet Parker. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

EDWARD HEYNES AND ROBERT HUTCHINSON AT BURHĀNPUR TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, SEPTEMBER 16, 1621 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2123, *f.* 49).

The renewed attempt of Soares to claim damages from the Company. He is not likely to succeed. Dispute with the natives over some indigo. 'The Cassie [*see* p. 39] hath sent for testemonye from the registers of the chowtry [*see* p. 198] in that place[1], whoe dayly take custome and record all bargaines past.' They await Biddulph's promised testimony 'against the shraff in the business of Rampaxad [Ramprasād]'. There is little to advise regarding the sale of goods. They would be glad to know at what price the coral is selling at Surat, that they may tell what to ask for theirs. Not much demand for ivory. They trust to hear soon of the arrival of the fleet. They have arranged to remit money to Surat, though the exchange is dear; two bills enclosed. Red 'birrams' are too expensive to be bought. With regard to the charge of the Surat factors against Heynes, he 'denyeth that hee hath any way taxt the Councell or strained his pen in conversation with them immodestly beyond due bounds or reason'. Copies of accounts sent. *P.S.*—Hutchinson requests to be credited with the value of five horses, 'with their saddles, cost ma[hmūdīs] 221 : 18 pice, which, after the rate of 32 pice to the ma[hmūdī] and 80 pice to the rup[ee], as I keepe my accompts, amounteth to rup[ees] 88 : 50 pice.' (*A much mutilated copy.* 7 *pp.*)

JOHN PARKER AT PATNA TO THE SAME, SEPTEMBER 17, 1621 (*Factory Records, Patna*, vol. i. p. 36).

Explains why the orders conveyed in their letter of July 14 for the continuance of the factory could not be carried out. All their arrangements had been made for departure, and his stay would have been a useless expense. Further, 'though the way betweene this and Agra is nott very daingerous for robbers, yett nott free of taxes, as you may perceave by the transporte of our last goods from hence, which cost 14 rup[ees] per carte, and since other

[1] 'Hassenpoore, adjoyneing to Brampoore.' The name has not been traced in the *Indian Atlas* sheet of the district.

merchants have paid 200 [*sic*] rup[ees] per carte, soe that it is nott unrequizite that some Englishman accompany the goods, by whose presence the greatest parte or all may peradventure be saved, which I shall endeavour. Mr. Hughes departed hence the 13th current and went by the way of Lackhoare, to hasten away the cloth bought there to Mobulepoore[1], which is theire place of ladinge ; and appointed me to make what hast I could and send away the goods here to meet them, which haveinge effected, to goe for Lackhoare to imbale four or five fardells yett unpacked and clere some small matters there, and thence to proceed in company of the goods with what speed possible for Agra.' They recently bought fifty maunds of gum-lac, a few Malda wares for patterns for Persia, some 'amberties', and various stuffs as samples. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

John Parker at Patna to the Factors at Agra, September 17, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 37).

Will start as soon as the rain permits, which 'dayly powreth downe in such quantity that I cannott gett an hower of faire wether whereby to send forth the goods, which nowe is all ready for the carte'. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

Edward Heynes and Robert Hutchinson at Burhānpur to the President and Council at Surat, September [18?], 1621 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2123, *f.* 52).

Have received the testimony from Biddulph in the matter of 'Herpaxad's' debt ; but the latter has no means, and so they leave the money to be recovered at Surat 'by bribeing of your Governor'. The complaint from the Surat factors has been presented to 'C[o]ja Abdala Hassan', who promised justice and 'wished us rest content, for hee would mayntaine noe servant to wrong us or our nation'. Negotiations for sale of coral, &c. They would be glad to be furnished with a broker who will give his whole attention to their business. The present one 'hath deluded us' in the buying of gum-lac, 'hee haveing made a mempoke thereof under culler by others, in soe much that either wee must pay dearer then wee formerly advised you, or elce rely on his performances.' They request to know what articles are to be inserted in the Prince's farmān, promised at Is-hāq Beg's arrival. (*A damaged copy.* 2¼ *pp.*)

[1] Perhaps Mohub Alīpur, near Mussowrah. Evidently the factors took the lower road from Patna to Benares (through Sāhserām).

JOHN WEDDELL[1], NICHOLAS BANGHAM, JAMES BEVERSHAM, JOSEPH SALBANK, AND WILLIAM HOARE, ABOARD THE *JONAS* OFF DAMĀN, TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, SEPTEMBER 18, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 48).

They set sail from England the [ ] of April, 1621; did not touch at the Cape, but refreshed at 'Augustine[2] and Joanna[3]'; and heard by the *Rose* of Pring's departure for England in the *Royal James* in June last. They have only lost fourteen men in the whole fleet. They would be glad of some fresh victuals. (*A much mutilated copy. 1 p.*)

RICHARD SWANLEY'S[4] ACCOUNT OF HIS VOYAGE TO SURAT (*Marine Records*, vol. xxxiv).

1621, March 19. Sailed from Tilbury. May 30. Saw the island of Trinidada.[5] June 30. Sighted 'the land of the Table Bay', but continued their voyage, as they had already lost much time. July 4. Overtaken by the *Richard* and the *Rose*, both outward bound.[6] July 23. Anchored in St. Augustine's Bay [Madagascar]. 'Here wee had great store of fresh victles, as beefes, sheepe, goats, and hennes, as much as wee would desire and very good cheape, for the people would take noe money but silver chaines and counterfett bludstones. There wee had for a sillver chaine of the matter of a foott long, which cost in England some five or six shillings, a good beefe which wer worth in England some four or five pounds; and a goate or a sheepe for four or five bludstones. The people there are very bould, for they would come abord and eate and drinke

[1] Went out in Bonner's fleet of 1618 as master of the *Lion*, returning in her to England in September, 1620. He was thereupon promoted to the command of the fleet for the following year. A brief account of his distinguished after-career will be found in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography*.

[2] A bay on the south-west coast of Madagascar.

[3] One of the Comoro Islands.

[4] He was master or master's mate on the *Jonas*, Captain Weddell's flagship. The other vessels of the fleet were the *Whale*, the *Dolphin*, and the *Lion*.

[5] The small volcanic island of that name in the South Atlantic, 700 miles from Brazil. For Capt. Best's account of a visit to it in 1612 see *Letters Received*, vol. vi. p. 291.

[6] Of 20 and 100 tons respectively. They had sailed from England in January, 1621, in company with the *Anne*, the *Lesser James*, and the *Fortune*. These three were bound for Bantam, while the *Richard* and the *Rose* were intended for 'discovery abought the Cape of Good Hoope' (Wood's journal, *Marine Records*, vol. xxxiii). Weddell had been instructed to take them on to Surat should he meet with them.

with us, and they would take any thing that wee would give them; but wee could never see that they wer treacherus or to steale any thinge from us (but very laiing).' August 1. The *Richard* was dispatched to sail along the coast to discover whether there was any good harbour to the northwards. August 2. The fleet sailed. August 12. Anchored at Joanna, one of the Comoro islands. August 16. The *Richard* rejoined. August 18. The fleet sailed. September 4. 'This day there was a feast abord the *Dolphine*. Being very merry in the evening, when the captain came from thence, there was three peeces shott off. So it pleased God that with one of the peeces Hugh Woodcock, being in the skiffe under the peece, was shott over, that noe man knewe what was become of him, but a peece of his capp was founde in the skiffe sterne.' September 12. 'This day in the afternoone wee saw great store of snackes, which a man shall commonly see when hee is within thirty or forty leages of the land.' September 15. 'From the last day of August to this day in the morning wee bore a slack saile to linger out the tyme for coming upon the coast of Surratt, for feare of fowle weather, which commonly contynueth untill the 16 or 20 of September.' September 21. Anchored outside Swally sands. September 23. The President and merchants came on board. September 24. The *Richard* arrived with a Portuguese prize of 200 tons, laden mostly with ivory.[1] September 26. The *Jonas* went into the road. September 27. The *Whale*, *Dolphin*, and prize came over the bar. September 29.[2] 'The *Andrew*, Mr. Pinder being master, brought in a prize, which was a juncke of the Mellickambers, which he had taken coming from the Red Sea,

[1] This capture is described in an undated letter printed at p. 729 of Purchas's first volume. 'It is a wonder to tell it, the *Richard* being a pinnace of about twentie tunnes, manned with fourteene men and boyes, and having but two small falconets in her, and the Portugall of two hundred and fiftie tunnes, with two hundred and fiftie in her, whereof seventie were Portugalls, the rest mesticos and slaves. The *Richard*, comming up with them, plyed her demi-dogs so well that in the shooting off twentie shot, it pleased God they killed their captayne; which the rest perceiving stroke all their sailes amayne, and like tall men came aboard the *Richard*, sixe at a time, where the master caused them to be bound; but fearing to have too many aboard, though bound, he sent a terrible command to the rest aboard, that upon their lives they should depart their ship into their great boat; which they very valiantly performed, and left their ship, to the utter disgrace of themselves and all their nation.' A rather longer account of the exploit is given in Purchas's second volume, p. 1791.

[2] This date appears to be wrong (cf. p. 286).

upon consideration of wrongs which hee had donne unto our marchants in Mogulls cuntry by robing their caffely [*see* p. 31 *n.*] in coming downe from Agra.' October 20. Captain Blyth's fleet came into the road with two prizes. (30 *pp.*)

WILLIAM MARTIN, GEORGE PIKE, AND JOHN GLANVILL AT BROACH TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, SEPTEMBER 23, 1621 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2123, *f.* 53).

Acknowledge the receipt of certain bills of exchange. The Governor's 'sheckdare' [*see* p. 205] is pressing them for an answer about the indigo, and they would therefore be glad of instructions in the matter. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

[EDWARD HEYNES] AND ROBERT [HUTCHINSON] AT BURHĀNPUR TO THE SAME, SEPTEMBER 26, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 57).

Their petition for justice against Soares was handed to the Prince in the 'Gushall Chonna[1]', as also a purse for a present. He seemed much pleased with that 'topha' [*see* p. 126 *n.*], and, after questioning Soares, referred the dispute to Afzal Khān. He in turn sent them to 'the Cassie [*see* p. 39 *n.*], who, upon examination of both sides, found Swaries testamonyes falce and his demands unjust; wee unreasonable to require satisfaction from him of such monyes as wee had disbursed and damages sustayned; and concluded that Swaries ought not to trouble us or our masters goods, nor wee him, if wee dispended a lack of rupies in defence thereof. Wee desired his scrite [*see* p. 4 *n.*] in testimony of this sentence, that in after tymes wee might prevent further trouble, which hee denieth to doe or graunt us untill hee hath made earrs[2] for approbation thereof, the Prince being first possessed with the cause and referd to him by his order. Wee must and will attend to have this sentence under record, although it might be well passed over with what hath been donn therein, for that Swaries is miserable poore, despised of all men, disrespected by the Prince; yet hee contineues his religion, and constant therein, and in which hee onely deserves comendations.' The 'books of chowtrie in Hassenpoore' [*see* p. 269] confirmed the

[1] Hind. *ghusl-khāna*, strictly 'a bath-room', but often applied, as here, to the room in which the King or Prince gave private audience (cf. Constable's *Bernier*, p. 265).

[2] Petition (Hind. *arz*).

'Banians books'; so the 'Cassie' does not know what to do. Advice as to the settlement of the dispute. By the 'casaina [1]' they received the amber and scales and have credited Surat accordingly. 'Upon the arivall of Isack Beag (whome wee have vizited according to your orders), wee solicited anew Afzullchon for the Princes firmaen, promised at first in presence of many hombras [2], both of King and Prince. With much earnestnes he tould us that [he?] had receaved letters from the Mellik Amber that our shipps had taken a junck of his comeing from the Red Sea: that Cojah Abdala Hassan [3] had received advize from Surrat that [ ] taken out of the Pr[ ] pretences they knew not [ ] unreasonnable and trouble [ ] at first to have sought rest[itution] by way of peticion to the Mellick and [ ] before wee had taken such violent course [ ] weare soe troublesome and unprofitable that the P[rince had] resolved to give us leave to departe his kingdom [? and if not, to] commaund us forth by force, if [we] would not live as [ ] and discreet marchaunts. To which wee replyed [with the li]ke earnestnes that notwithstanding the tyme of w[inter] had made the wayes unsafe and unpassable for any of our nation to travell to the court of the Mellick with securitie, yet wee had indevored to make our recourse to his ambassador in sute (?) of satisfaction according to equitie, but could not be admitted to his presence, hee denieing conversation with us, and onely sent a scornefull and proud messuadges [*sic*] in liue of justice or restitucion; affirmeing that the Mellicks and [*sic*] unhonnorable action by breatch of his word and cowle [4] induced us to soe a setled resolution as to requite him with force and violence in soe that [not?] a shipp or boate should passe to and from any of his ports untill wee weare fully satisfied. Wee further said that noe man knew better then himselfe the insufferable injuries wee had suffered this many yeares together, as well from the Princes servants and officers in Surratt, as from others the King and Princes subjects elce where: that wee weare not onely abused in our persons, dispoyled of our goods, but debarred of our trade, which hath been

[1] Treasure-caravan (see note on p. 91).
[2] Grandees (Arabic *umarā*, really the pl. of *amīr*).
[3] Khwāja Abdala Hasan.
[4] Safe conduct (Ar. *qaul*).

and now is graunted us by their sundry firmaens extant: that for these wee have often sought by petition for justice and reformacion at the hands of the King, Prince, and himselfe, and as yet could receave none, but rather more wrong heaped upon our sufferings, which we could not longer indure, but must be playne and give them to understand that wee intend to right our wrongs by our owne force, seeing wee cannot finde justice by the Prince, to whome wee are dayly sutors: that as wee came into this country by virtue of the Kings firmaen authorizing us, soe should' [*part torn away*]. 'After many other disputes [ ] desired us to have patience but a few [more days until the?] Prince should confir with Isack Beage [ ] have our firmaen; and to the end hee [might the] better knowe our desires, hee willed us to drawe [the parti]culers wee required; which haveing ready wee [then] delivered; the coppy whereof wee send you.' They are confident of obtaining redress, at all events as soon as the ships' arrival is announced. 'Yt is our opinions the[y] greatly feare us, and the more by the [ ] adjoyneing. By your dealeing roundly with them you shall [find] them tractable, not dare to oppose us or take any violent co[urse] to wrong us. Isack Beage useth us curteously, and gives us many promises of favor and frendship in all your affaires. His coming up to court (as wee understand) is through his owne desires, not called for. Hee hopes to be your Governour and Divan [dīwān], to remoove Jamshead Beage, against whome hee hath made some complaints. What they are wee understand not, but wee feare hee wilbe soe powerfull as worke his owne ends.' They send accounts received from Agra; also bills for money remitted to Surat. They are prepared to accept bills for as much more. Messages to the Agra and Ahmadābād factories. (*Copy. Damaged.* 4½ *pp.*)

Consultation by the United Council of Defence at Batavia, October 6 [N. S. = September 26 O. S.], 1621 (*O. C.* 992).

The English members undertake to prepare three ships by the 15th to take part in the projected cruise on the Malabar Coast. They also promise to add their pinnace the *Dragon's Claw*, if she can be got ready in time; and the Dutch undertake to send the *Little Enkhuisen* with the fleet, making five ships and two pinnaces on

the Dutch side, and three ships (the *Exchange*, *Anne*, and *Diamond*) and one pinnace on the English. The answer to be returned to the Pangeran of Bantam considered. [Signed by Fursland, Fitzherbert, Brockedon, and Hazelwood for the English, and Coen, Carpentier, Lam, and Dedell for the Dutch.]

Annexed: (i) Instructions for Jacob Dedell, Admiral, and Humphrey Fitzherbert, Vice-Admiral, of the squadron 'ordained to sayle for the coaste off Malabarr and Goa'. 'For disabling our common ennemies, furtheraunce of trade upon the coast of Malabar, and restauration of the decayed India trade in the kingdome of Greate Brittaine and the United Netherlands,' the Council of Defence has decided to dispatch nine ships and two pinnaces, with 1,139 men, viz. 754 on the Dutch and 385 on the English vessels. Dedell is made Admiral, with his flag in the *Good Fortune*, and Fitzherbert Vice-Admiral, in the *Royal Exchange*. All important matters are to be settled by a council, consisting of the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and principal officers, viz. Jean van Gorcum[1], Jean Lievenaer, and Mews Sanders for the Dutch, and Walter Bennett, Bartholomew Goodall, and Alexander Ball for the English. In the event of the death of the Admiral, Van Gorcum will succeed; and should Fitzherbert die, Bennett will become Vice-Admiral. Justice will be administered by Dedell and his particular council or by Fitzherbert and his particular council, according as the offender is a Dutchman or an Englishman. This fleet is sent expressly 'to doe the Portingalls all the spoyle that may bee, and to destroye their carracks and gallions'. It will probably be best to sail along the coast from Cape Comorin to Cochin and thence to Goa. A visit might be paid to Calicut to obtain information, and to see whether the Samorin is disposed to send a fleet of frigates to assist in attacking the Portuguese; but they are not to wait any time for this purpose, as it is important to surprise the enemy if possible. Arriving at Goa, and finding the carracks safe under the protection of the forts, they are to cruise in front of the harbour until the end of March or the coming of the north-west monsoon. They may then, if time permits, go to the Gulf of Persia to surprise the galleons there, and afterwards proceed to Mozambique or the

[1] Jan van Gorcom, afterwards member of council at Batavia (1626).

Comoro Islands to winter. With the end of the westerly monsoon they are to return to the Malabar Coast to wait for the carracks, and continue the blockade. Although the main purpose of the fleet is to damage the Portuguese, opportunities of trade should not be neglected. 'Yf so bee it shoulde happen that any of those kings woulde trade but with one of the nations, whether Netherlanders or Englishe, the same shall extende to the service and benefitt of both Companies, the one not to exclude the other.' The ships should be kept together as far as possible. To be cautious in attack, 'poyzing courage and good foresight in equall ballaunce'; but once engaged to stand by one another 'to the uttermooste'. Rules for dealing with prizes. When the object of the expedition has been attained, or the attempt abandoned, the Dutch may send a ship or two 'to procure people and slaves', and either side may detach one or two vessels to Surat. Dated in the Fort Batavia, October 11 [N.S.], 1621. [Signed as above.][1]

(ii) Commission from the Council of Defence to Dedell and Fitzherbert. [Dated and signed as in (i).]

(iii) Resolutions of the Council of Defence. The Dutch having furnished the larger portion of the fleet, it is agreed that their extra charges shall be divided with the English, subject to the charges being approved by the Companies in Europe; also that the profit or loss of the voyage, and any prizes taken, shall be equally divided. Trade to be attempted along the Malabar Coast, but without prejudice to the main object of the expedition. The Dutch to be allowed at the close of the operations to send certain of their ships to 'one place or other to procure blacks and slaves to people the islands of Banda, Batavia, and other places'; likewise, either side may then send a ship or two to Surat, or the whole or part of the fleet may proceed thither, if the Council so decide. The English *Bear* having arrived from the coast of Coromandel, the Dutch General desires to know whether the English Committees will accept her. They refer him in reply to their former answers 'wherefore they might not accepte the aforesayd shipp nor the reste of their shipps otherwise then satisfaction for them in readye moneye'. [Dated and signed as in (i).] (*Copy. Together*, 9 *pp.*)

[1] There is a Dutch copy among the *Hague Transcripts* (Series III, vol. i. No. M 1).

William Martin, George Pike, and John Glanvill at Broach to the President and Council at Surat, September 27, 1621 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2123, *f.* 57).

Request a supply of money, and also an answer about the Governor's indigo [*see* p. 273]. The 'Mirga' [*see* p. 178] is sick at Ahmadābād, and has asked them to help him to a little sack. They hope some will be spared to his servant. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

James Bickford, Nathaniel Halstead, Richard Lancaster, William Hill, and John Clark at Sarkhej to the Same, September 27, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 65).

Dispatch to Surat of a caravan of sugar, &c., intended for Persia, under the charge of Thomas Quince, surgeon. They have now got together over 20,000 baftas, and shall continue to buy till the end of the month. Indigo has also been purchased, and is being put up in square baskets. 'Your newes of the approach of Peeter Giles[1] with an English *Sampson* is of no good disgestion with us, for it wilbe little grace to us to have them confront us with a captive detension of our owne shipps in the full vew of both ourselves and all these infidells.' Its detention is a flagrant breach of the treaty. They request an early supply of funds. Lancaster departs shortly to Cambay to provide 'pangeries' [*see* p. 178 *n.*]. They cannot find means of remitting to Burhānpur. Bickford expresses his thanks for permission to return to England. Hill is better, and will decide later whether to go or stay. Some items in the accounts explained. 'Suphie Cann [Safī Khān],' who has been kind to them, has requested a pass for a small vessel of his bound from Goghā, 'called the Tavery[2] of Suphie Cann.' This they have given, but he wishes to have a second from Surat. They trust the fleet from England will come to Swally all together, when, uniting with the ships already there, they will be able 'to looke a boulder enemye in the face then Ruffrero Dondrado with his six galleons'. As regards the Mokha trade, they consider it hazardous to send a single ship thither this year, in view of Portuguese attacks.

[1] Van Ravesteyn (see p. 264). The *Sampson* (the ship in which Jourdain had been killed) had been retained by the Dutch in compensation for their *Black Lion*, burnt while in the possession of the English.

[2] Possibly *tarī* (cf. p. 106).

They approve an experimental trade at Dābhol, but the merchants should not land without hostages. William Laughton will be returned, but they ask for another youth in his place. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 8½ *pp.*)

[Captain John Weddell,] aboard the *Jonas* at Swally, to the Same, September 27, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 56).

The fleet is now entering the road. The *Jonas*, *Rose*, and *Richard* yesterday got over the bar; and he hopes the *Whale*, *Dolphin*, and prize will do the same ere night. They will land the goods desired as soon as possible. Prize money for the mariners. He hopes to careen all his ships. As regards the proposed employment of the *Richard*, he thinks there will be a risk of capture by the Portuguese, and that it would be better to use a native boat, if procurable. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1½ *pp.*)

Nicholas Bangham, aboard the *Whale* [at Swally], to the Same, September 28, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 56).

As to the landing of elephants' tusks and other goods. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

Richard Barber and Justinian Offley at Baroda to the Same, September 29, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 73).

Thank them for news of the arrival of the fleet. Would be glad of a supply of money. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

Captain John Weddell, aboard the *Jonas*, to the Same, September 30, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 64).

Supply of certain articles. Packing of cotton wool. A rigid search has been made aboard the prize, but he can find no gold, though he hears the pinnace's crew shared about 200 rials before they came to Swally. 'You certifie that the Dutch have bought slaves aboord, but (as you) I know nither the quantety nor the sellers. Be you pleased to learne both those.' Sends three bottles of beer, sack, and claret. *P.S.*—Four of the slaves have escaped. (*Copy. Damaged.* 2 *pp.*)

ROBERT TOTTLE [AT SWALLY?] TO THE SAME, SEPTEMBER [30?], 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 65).

Concerning the delivery of goods. (*Copy. Much damaged.* ½ *p.*)

WILLIAM MARTIN, GEORGE PIKE, AND JOHN GLANVILL AT BROACH TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 1, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 72).

Have sent letters to Ahmadābād, with a sample of the Governor's indigo; and hope now to have a little peace till a reply is received. They were glad to hear of the arrival of the fleet, and have noted the instructions conveyed in the Company's letters. Money is urgently needed. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 1, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 72).

Immediately after the dispatch of their letter to Surat, 'Awcob beage' [Yāqūb Beg], in lieu of furnishing the promised sample, sent for their broker, and announced his intention of delivering to the English all the indigo he had by him. He refused to speak to the factors, and ordered the bales of indigo to be laid at the door of the English factory. At night they were at last admitted, when 'hee tould us directly that what hee had donn was by [order?] from his master, and that hee was noe foole, to be longer deluded with delayes, but haveing sent it to our howse hee was freed from his charge, and therefore would the daye followeing cause it to be wayed, and require money for the same according to these brokers estimation'. They emphatically repudiated all responsibility for the indigo, and moreover told him that they had not room in their house to stow a quarter of it. 'But nothing prevaileing, wee departed, at which instant a storme of thunder and rayne came that wett these bales which weare without doare in the street; which hee perceaveing wee would not take it into our custody caused them to be carryed into the masseet[1] next our howse.' They desire speedy orders for their guidance in the matter. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 1 *p.*)

EDWARD HEYNES AND ROBERT HUTCHINSON AT BURHĀNPUR TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 2, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 73).

As regards the business of Soares, 'the sentence received both against him and our selves' is not yet recorded, but is expected

[1] Mosque (the Arabic *masjid* being in India softened into *masid*).

daily. 'Wee will procure such a firmaen from the Prince as that hee shalbe never able againe to make clayme against our masters goods or their servants in that businesse.' The proceeds of their coral and ivory will be remitted to Agra and Surat, or used to meet bills from Ahmadābād. Gum-lac and 'birames' will be purchased shortly. 'Wee shewed you how wee behaved ourselves with Isack Beag at his arivall. Wee have continewed in the same ever since; hath received our articles from the hands of Afsulchan, and our whole business is referred to his enordering. They both promise us content in all things, and a firmaen shortly to be delivered us, which wee daylie expect. Hee is made Governour of Surratt, and a firmaen is given for Jemsherbeages remoove. If reporte be true, hee hath promised two lakes mamodes yearly to the Prince from the porte of Surratt more then formerly; which wee feare the most parte wilbe extorted from our hands. Hee is a straunge cunning dogg, powerfull, and will bite shrewdly if you muzzle him not. You shall see his harte by the firmaen promised. It is not likely to proove good, when our enemy is the directour, and to whome it must be directed. Wee have urged them with extraordinary earnestnes to procure it effectually; which if they will not graunt, wee knowe noe remedy.' The draft articles sent from Surat came too late; but those they delivered instead agree generally with them. For the Red Sea, they have already expressed their opinions. 'Your newes of our shipps before Chowle is currant; and this day Cojah Abdalla Hassan [*see* p. 274] reports unto us of six shipps arived in the Roade of Swally. All men confirme the newes of takeing a junck of the Melleck; wee hope of the truth, and that to the full satisfaction of our masters. Wee are dayly attending for his perwan [*see* p. 263 *n.*] to his servant Pellwan Saphede [Pahlawān Safīd], which when received shall be sent with all expedicion.' They forward letters received from Patna for dispatch to England; also copies of the Burhānpur accounts for the same purpose. (*Copy. Damaged.* 3 *pp.*)

James Bickford, William Hill, and John Clark at Ahmadābād to the Same, October 3, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 75).

Are glad to hear of the success the 'smale shipp' has had against the common enemy [*see* p. 272]. Copy desired of the Company's

letter. They are busily buying indigo, &c. A longer letter will follow. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

Giles James at Surat to President Rastell [at Swally], October 3, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 73).

The Governor has refused to clear the rials at the custom-house until James writes to Rastell 'that all the goods which maye be termed by the name of topha [*see* p. 126 *n.*] should immediately be sent upp'. 'I perceave the Customer and hee are joyned to vex us, and if you suffer those goods to come upp before wee have our corrall within this towne and our rialls out, my opinion is that wee shall faile both of the one and the other, unless wee come of with a large bribe.' (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

James Bickford, William Hill, and John Clark at Ahmadābād to the President and Council at Surat, October 4, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 76).

Request a copy of the Company's letter and orders; also intelligence whether the Dutch have arrived, 'for most parte of our comodity depends on their arrivall, which wee yet hold in suspense.' They rejoice at the news of the fleet's successful voyage. 'The baftaes wee have provided for this yeare amount to 21,000, besides the Dowlca [Dholka] linens, which wee are now peruseing.' Lancaster [at Cambay?] has been ordered to cease providing goods for the southwards, and they will do the same. Copies required of the Company's orders for embaling and marking their goods. They have no news to send, 'but desire some from you, that wee may give a little ease to our wearied spiritts, almost tired and choakt with dust.' (*Copy. Damaged.* 1¼ *pp.*)

Edward Heynes and Robert Hutchinson at Burhānpur to the Same, October 5, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 84).

Forward a 'perwan of Cojah Abdella Hassan to his servant Pelwan Saphed [*see* p. 281], commanding from him good usadge and all necessaries for our people in Swalley'. When they complained of these abuses, a former servant of the Governor, who happened to be present, defended him, affirming that the English were unruly and offered force. This they denied, and declared that the real

cause of the dispute was that they had refused to give the Governor a bribe of six yards of red cloth, with the result that he 'stopt the currant of our businesse 20 dayes together, by which wee lost our monzon the last yeare, and noe other cause; at which his master gave him such a looke of discontent that made him fearefull to reply any further in his defence. Hee charged him to deny us nither water nor carts for carriadges nor any thing that us or our people wanted; not demaund custome or any other duties of us other then formerly hath been given by us, nor to wrong us in the least kinde; and that in case there should any difference happen betwixt them and us, to advise him of it and not themselves to execute justice. Hee wished us to write to the commaunders of our fleet to cause our people to behave themselves civelly and freindly, and they should want nothing that was necessary for theire refreshing or otherwise. If not, upon just complaint of them hee should then (contrary to his minde) debarr them of all things. To this effect hee hath caused his perwann to be written. Wee are confident hee will in his private commaunds write his Governour rowndly of our complaints, for hee seemes to bee much mooved at it.' They are still endeavouring to obtain the desired farmān from Afzal Khān, and likewise the farmāns in settlement of Soares' claim and the business of the indigo. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1½ *pp.*)

JOHN PARKER [AT LUKHAWUR] TO THE FACTORS AT AGRA, OCTOBER [ ], 1621 (*Factory Records, Patna*, vol. i. p. 38).

Laded his Patna goods on September 23 from 'Mendroo Seray, towards Mobulepoore', and came hither to pack up the few remaining. This done, he has been waiting for the weather to clear. 'And now at last cominge to dispeed them, I fynd the packs soe heavy that they are nott portable either on oxen nor by caharr [*see* p. 105 *n.*], though offer treble the freight accustomed betweene this and Mobulepoore, where the carts and rest of the goods have attended these 15 dayes, and the wayes soe untoward that in the best season of the yeare they are unpassable for carts, and camells are nott here to be procured at any rate, for whose burden these f[ardles] were intended.' Hughes before his departure engaged both oxen and kahārs, but the latter 'have discharged theire ladinge, some in one place, some in another, themselves run away and left

me to gather the goods togeather'. He has sent word of this, as he fears he cannot possibly get to Agra in time for the goods to go down to Surat this season. He would have been glad of the farmān mentioned in their letter of August 27, but 'now the country ys soe quyett' he thinks he can manage without it. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

RICHARD SWAN'S ACCOUNT OF HIS VOYAGE IN THE *HART* TO THE COAST OF ARABIA (*Marine Records*, vol. xxx).[1]

1621, April 6. The fleet set sail from Swally; also the Dutch pinnace *Good Fortune*. April 9. The *Eagle* and the Dutch pinnace parted company with the rest, bound for Achin and Bantam. May 1. Captured the *S. Antonio*, of 200 tons, laden with rice and bound from Goa to Muskat and Ormus. She was renamed the *Mayflower*. 'By these Portingalls wee understand Ruy Frere de Andrade to bee busie in reparing his foure shipps at Ormus, and that Don Emmanuell de Assevedo is departed about fiftie daies past from Goa in his succor with two gallliouns, one whereof is the same in which the Viceroy was personallie when hee fought with Captain Downton's fleete.' May 7. Surprised the *Jacinth*, bound to Goa from Mozambique. She was rechristened the *Primrose*, and proved a better sailer than any other in the fleet. May 17. Having missed Socotra, largely owing to the bad sailing of the *Mayflower* ('that leeward cart'), they steered northwards, in the hope of reaching Dafar, on the coast of Arabía. May 24. Saw land, which they concluded to be one of the Kuria Muria Islands, though the Portuguese declared it was 'Matraca[2]', and that the coast was dangerous. May 25. Standing along in search of a road, the *Hart* and *Roebuck* lost sight of the rest of the fleet. After waiting awhile, they judged it best to keep on their course along the coast, sounding frequently. June 2. Anchored off the island of 'Macera[3]', and obtained abundance of water from some pits three-quarters of a mile inland. The natives were 'verie tractable', and traded goats for rice and calico. June 12. Moved to a bay at the north-east end of the island, where

[1] Kerridge was on board Swan's vessel. For another account of this voyage see Pinder's narrative (*supra*, p. 220 *n.*).

[2] Ras Madraka, the south-west point of the Gulf of Masīra.

[3] Masīra Island, off the south-east coast of Omān, between Ras Madraka and Ras-al-hadd.

they obtained a few goats and lambs. There was a plentiful supply of fresh water. It was resolved to stay here for the rest of the monsoon. June 19. A native was sent off with letters for the admiral. He returned some days later with letters from the rest of the fleet at 'Soar[1]', narrating their troubles at Teve, &c.[2] July 9. The *Roebuck's* skiff was sunk and four men drowned. August 6. Set sail to rejoin the admiral. August 8. Met the fleet and anchored near Ras-al-hadd. August 15. All the ships sailed. August 31 (?). Anchored near Chaul. The Governor of that town sent a boat aboard the *Hart* 'to enquire newes of their expected Viceroy[3], if wee came from England'. They brought some bread and fruit, and were given a fowling-piece in return.[4] (8¼ *pp.*)

ARCHIBALD JEMISON'S ACCOUNT OF THE SAME VOYAGE (*Ibid.*, vol. xxxii).[5]

1621, April 6. The fleet dropped down to the bar of Surat. April 7. Set the merchants on shore and sailed. April 9. Stopped four junks from Broach, but let them go. April 30. At midnight took a Portuguese ship from Muskat. May 3. Jemison was made master of the prize, with a crew of twelve men and a boy, including a merchant named Walker and Nicholas Woolley for purser. They had sixty prisoners on board, 'Arabians and Portingall blackes.' May 7. Took the *Primrose*, come from Mozambique. May 24. Saw land, but stood off again. May 25. Lost sight of the *Hart* and *Roebuck*. June 7. Anchored at 'Teewee', where they obtained water, 'but a littele brackishe, and verye good refreshinge, fishe and fleshe and fruites greate store; but most intollerable hoote.' June 22. 'By reason the Portingall[s] came and toocke our surgeon and our boye and incensed the cuntry peaple against us[6], and so

[1] Sūr, about fifteen miles west of Ras-al-hadd.

[2] See p. 288. 'Teve' is Taiwī, eight miles south of Ras-ash-Shajar.

[3] Dom Affonso de Noronha was appointed Viceroy and sailed in April, 1621, but was forced to put back. The new King then named Dom Francisco da Gama for the post, who started in March, 1622, and reached Goa the following September.

[4] Swan's next entry is for November 21, when, in company with the *Roebuck* and the Persia fleet, the *Hart* left Swally for England with Kerridge on board.

[5] See p. 203. He seems to have been now in the *Hart*.

[6] 'On the fourteenth came order from Muscat to the Arabs to withstand our watering. With the Portugalls aide they did their best, some seven or eight hundred of them with

wee wayed this daye and went for Soar, because that the Shackalee [Shaikh Alī] hadd promised to be our freinde, who is king of Soar and the cuntrye aboute.' June 24. Anchored at Sūr. June 25. They put ashore the Portuguese captain of the *S. Antonio*, who returned next day with refreshments. June 27. 'The Captaine gave him some boyes and some weomen slaves that weare good for nothing, and so hee made the cuntrye peapell to bye our risse.' June 28. Letters received from the *Hart* and *Roebuck*, which were answered next day. During the next few weeks the greater part of the prize rice was disposed of, and the *Mayflower*, which was in a very leaky condition, was thereupon broken up for firewood. August 8. The *Hart* and *Roebuck* rejoined and all the ships anchored at The London's Hope.[1] Jemison resumed his place in the *Hart*. Here the fleet obtained 'great storre of wood'. August 15. They sailed for India. August 24. 'The *London* and the *Primrose* went from us to Debull this night.' August 31. Anchored near Chaul. September–October. 'Wee of and one of Choole spent 38 dayes expectinge the jounckes from the Read Sea, but the Dutche prevented it by taking of them.' September 14. 'A crwell night of raine and thunder and of lightning . . . this raine and lightning was called by the peaplle the Olliphante[2], which comethe once a yeare.' September 29. The *London* arrived from Dābhol. October 1. The *Andrew* was sent to Surat.[3] October 9. The rest of the fleet followed. October 10. Met two ships dispatched by Captain Weddell to announce his arrival at Surat. October 20. Anchored in Swally Road.[4] (6 *pp.*)

small shot and bow and arrowes; but the Lord fought our battell, so that but one of our men were lost; yet landed we daily with brasse base and small shot untill all our ships were watered' (Pinder, *ut supra*).

[1] Khor Jarāma, three and a half miles west of Ras-al-hadd. It is described in the *Persian Gulf Pilot* as 'a fine basin with a tortuous entrance a mile long and only 150 yards broad, between cliffs 60 feet high'. It seems a pity that the old name is not preserved in our charts to commemorate the visit of Blyth's squadron.

[2] See *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd edn., p. 343.

[3] 'The thirtieth of September . . . I was sent to goe for Surat in the *Andrew*, by order from Captaine Blith, and to advertise Master Thomas Rastell of our passage, he being chiefe in the factorie; and in my passage for Surrat I surprised a ship of that princes which had formerly wronged our masters, and carried her to Surrat, surrendering her to the chief factor' (Pinder, *ut supra*).

[4] The remainder of Jemison's journal is occupied with the return voyage to England in the *Hart*.

ROBERT JEFFRIES IN CHAUL ROAD TO THE COMPANY, OCTOBER 5, 1621 (*O. C.* 998).[1]

'Wheras latelye the Counsell of Suratt had notice of an unfortunate accident befallen unto Your Honours in the surprizall of a caffila (with Lahor and Agra goods) under the conduction of Robert Hutchinson, deceaved in confidence of a promise made by Meleek Ambar, Protector to one of the Kings of Decany, who with his armye had invaded the territories of the Mogull, and through whose conquest our goods of necessitie were forced to importune a passaige, Consultation resolved to imploy the *London* for the Red Sea, so well to guard the *Harte* and *Roebucke*, who haveing (through many hindrances) at length attayned a late dispatch from Sually to the losse of their monson, as also to endeavour a satisfaction uppon the junks of Dabull, Chaule, or of any other porte belonging to that faction; which to effecte, goods of some value were laden for Mocha (under which our projects might have the better countinance) and your Suratt Counsell caused me to assiste; wherunto I willingly consented; albeit our dessignes were prevented through our late departure (being the 7th of Aprill when wee tooke our leave from India), by meanes wherof the former lynes had their intended passaige made frustrate, confident they should have found convayance by way of Gran Cayro. So that nowe I am with the 4th [*sic*] of October anno 1621 in the porte of Chaule, being soddainly by consultation called to a further and ymportant ymployment in your affayres which requireth dispatch, wherof I had notice yesterday, am theron to morrowe to departe, which doth much prevent the relations of my desiers, not having tyme to peruse what I have written; wherfore doe entreat pardon if any errour be commytted in the copies heerwith accompanied, which you may please to cause rectified by the sence, which I am assured will agree with the originalls. But before I further proceede concerninge my nowe ymployment, you may be pleased to understand that in our intended course for the Red Sea yt was our fortune to encounter two Portingalls, on the 2nd and 7th of Maye, the one from Goa bound for Mascate with rice and many other groce comodities, the other from Mossambique

[1] The first part of the letter is a copy of Jeffries' letter of March 14, 1621 (see p. 241).

with goods of some value for Goa, as also about 6,000*l.* starling in rials of eight, gold, &c., as Mr. Kerridge, beinge acquainted with all passages, will relate more perticularly unto Your Honours. Wee endeavored to attayne Socotra, but could not, so that expence of water and winter season commaunded us to discover a remeadye to prevent both; wheruppon wee made our course for the coast of Arabia Fælix, which discovered on the 25th of May, the *Hart* and *Robucke* made towards the land to seeke some convenient place to passe the winter season, who thinking wee would followe them, which wee could not (without losse of company with our prizes), where they found water and some other bare refreshments at the iland Masseira. The *London*, *Andrewe*, *Mayflower*, and *Primerose* went within Cape Rosalgate [Ras-al-hadd], and the 7th of June anchored at Tewee [*see* p. 285], where wee had all sortes of refreshments untill certayne Portingalls (sent from Mascatte) forbid and defended the watering-place; but wee toke yt without asking leave, and therof had our pleasures, and for their dishonestie wee burned the towne and spoyled many their date trees. In which place Bartholomewe Symonds, our master surgian, and ministers boy were treacherously surprized, and John Hawtrye by one of his fellowes accidentally slayne. From which place wee departed the 22th ditto some eight leagues towards the Cape at a road called Soar, where by letters wee had often correspondence with our absent freinds, and where I sould the rice of our prize, amounting to almost 19,000 larees [*see* p. 227 *n.*], being indeed so much monies given Your Honours, which had been so much lost had not my industrye and projectes prevayled to vend the same; for the ship was so lame and leakie that further she could not continewe with us, and was a trade beate out of barren rocks with troublesome beggarlye merchants. So after having laden into our other shipps the remayning goods of that ship, gave her leave to sinke. The 8th of August wee departed from Soar (plying towards the Cape), when wee met with the *Hart* and *Roebucke*, which came to anchor neer us, being some four miles within yt, wher is an excellent harbour, with a bolde though narrowe entrance, but within spatious, with severall ilands, and where above two thousand sayles may safely ride all weathers free from stormye furies; which place wee called Londons Hope; wher is store of wood and are wells, but the water somewhat

brackish, but oysters, mussells and crackers (which are farr better then oysters), with fresh fish of manye kindes in great abundance, all to be had for little labour (or better to say for a recreation). Hence wee departed the 15th ditto (all our fleet in company); when Consultation disposed our [i.e. the *London's*] attendance with the *Prymerose* in the roade of Dabull (where wee arrived the first of September), the *Harte* and *Andrewe* for Chaule, and the *Roebucke* in the midway between us, with limmited expectation untill the 25th of that moneth, for endeavoring to bring the mayne dessigne to our desiers. But God, the disponent of all mens actions, hath not yet consented that wee should enjoye the harvest of our just causes expectation. In Dabull we found courteous entreaty, and refreshment to content, with many presents of that kinde from Meleeke Acute Adelshah [Malik Yāqūt Ādil Shāh], the Governor; where I sould some smale quantitie of lead at about 100 per 100 encouragement towards chardges, being 1,020 barrs, poiz 1,150½ maens of Suratt, at eight larees each, amounting unto 9,204 larrees, and 24 sword blades at 15 larees peece, amounting to 360 lar[ees]; and might have sould manye other things but fowle weather prevented yt, in regard wee kept our market abord. By that people I was sollicited that (as in Surat) wee should doe well to establish a factorie there, where many our comodities would vent, both clothes, corrall, lead, eliphants teeth, &c., whose proceed wee might invest in goods proper for the Red Sea, Persia and England. For in the countrye of Ballagatt[1] many comodities were bought by the Portingalls and sent for Europe, as divers sortes of fyne lynnen, gumlacke; besides, that countrye is abundant in pepper, from whence (as one Narano [Nārāyan], a broker, informed me) a ship of 500 tonnes might have her yeerly lading (besides their usuall trade supplyed), being commonly sould at eight larrees the maene, making between 24 and 25 lb. haberdepoiz; which, albeit the prizes somewhat haughtie[2], the shorte retorne, and countinance of the yeerely ship from Suratt, will encourage a factorye in that place, when wearing out of shipping, long demore[3], victualls, and mens wages to the southwards (albeit there pepper is bought at easier

[1] Bālāghāt, the country 'above the passes' (over the Western Ghauts)—the Deccan.
[2] 'Haughty' is here used in its literal sense of 'high'.
[3] Demurrage.

rates) doe and will prove in England as deere a penniworth. Mr. Kerridge is partlye determined to further a factories establishment this yeere at that place; which yf wee omyt, the Flemen[1] will doubtles enjoy the opportunitye. I had almost forgotten my busines required a present departure, havinge indeed much of this kinde to relate, and of force must referr tyll better opportunitye. In Chaul wee arrived the 28th September, when after salutacions of our arrivall, Mr. Kerridge certified that Meleeke Ambar had by letters offred cómposition for our losse. Wherfore (to joyne hands with opportunity) Consultacion, after due consideracion, commaunded me to sollicite in that behalfe, hostage being given for my securitye. In which ymployment the Almightie God graunt me prosperous successe. Amen.' (*Holograph.* 10 *pp.*)

President Fursland and Thomas Brockedon at Batavia to Captain Fitzherbert, October 6, 1621 (*O. C.* 999).

Supplementary instructions for the voyage to the Malabar Coast. Precautions for the proper division of the prize goods. To be frugal in expenses for refreshing at any places on the coast, 'not exceeding the Companies orders to give men but fower fresh meales in the weeke'; though at the [Comoro] Islands, where refreshing is plentiful and cheap, he may use his discretion. They have provided 2,500 rials for the expenses of his squadron; also sword-blades for sale or barter. They have furnished him with letters to the factors at Surat (in case he proceeds thither), desiring them to supply him with men, munitions, and victuals.

P.S.—The Samorin[2] owes the Company 3,083½ rials of eight, and he promised Fursland, when the *Dragon* called there, that he would pay it with interest. 'You shall finde good words from him and faire promises, but if you get any satisefactione, it is more then we can expect from him; and to pay ourselves out of his vesells canot now be donne, in regard of the hope of seteling a trade there. Wherefore you may demaund it by frindly meanes, and take what you can gett of him in parte of payment.' (1¼ *pp.*)

[1] Fleming (Dutch).

[2] The title of the Hindu sovereign of Calicut. For its origin see *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd edn., p. 977.

JAMES BICKFORD, NATHANIEL HALSTEAD, WILLIAM HILL, AND JOHN CLARK AT AHMADĀBĀD TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, OCTOBER 6, 1621 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2123, *f.* 77).

Are glad to hear their friends at Broach have resisted the attempt to force the Governor's indigo upon them. 'Wee are of opinion it is Jambuzar [*see* p. 64 *n.*] indico, which in England is valued (as it is) nought and not worth the fraught whome.' To buy it would be to act against the Company's express orders. They find it difficult to comply with the directions from home to specify the exact weight of each bale. 'The squar basketts are not made all of one biggnesse,' and moreover 'all indicoe fills not alike'; therefore they cannot without more time and help comply with the Company's directions. They would be glad to know the Surat factors' opinions in this matter. *P.S.*—They beg to be supplied with oil, vinegar, beef, pork, &c., from the ships. Some cheese would also be welcome. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THOMAS QUINCE AT BROACH TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 7, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 76).

Inquires whether the goods he is bringing from Ahmadābād should be delivered at Surat or at 'Gengellpoore' [*see* p. 231 *n.*]. 'Alsoe I thought good to certifie you that there came from Amadavads with mee Signor John Baptista the Polonion[1] and Signor Sebastian the Venetian, which have both of them goods in company with yours. Signor Sebastians is, I thinke, most of it indicoe; but what the other is I know not.' (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

RICHARD BARBER AND JUSTINIAN OFFLEY AT BARODA TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 7, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 79).

They were glad to hear of the fleet's arrival and the impending dispatch of funds to their factory. Mr. Offley has been very ill and diseased since his arrival, which he attributes to the air and bad water. He begs permission to return to Surat to consult their surgeon. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

[1] i. e. the Pole. He was probably the 'Polack' mentioned by Roe (*Embassy*, p. 355). His companion was no doubt the 'Sebastiano Fiorino' alluded to above, p. 223.

EDWARD HEYNES AND ROBERT HUTCHINSON AT BURHĀNPUR TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 7, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 85).

On complaining to Is-hāq Beg of the prohibition at Surat of the transport of their rials, 'hee answered with many excuses and a world of great words of freindshipp and favour, desiring to meet us the next morneing at Afsul Chans and then both themselves and us should conferr of that businesse. Which accordingly wee did; and, after a long tyme of single conference, wee shewed the wrong offered us in the restraint of our ryalls, our necessitie in the transporte and sale of them, and the great inconvenience wee should sustayne by their detention, affirmeing that this must of necessitie make another breach betwixt us, wherein they weare the onely instruments. It weare to long to write you the discourses; therefore omitt for brevities sake, and conclude that wee finde Afsul Chan and Isack Beag to be the onely occasion of the prohibicion in them, although they seem to couller it with good words. Afsul Chan began with a long appollegee that the Prince was very earnest to put us from his porte and writ to his father to commaund us out of his country; but himself and Isack Beag had delivered good words of us and asswaged that heat (as they terme it) hee had against us. Wee weare as rownd with them, and desired them to call us into the guselchan [*see* p. 273] where wee might heare as much from the Princes mouth and receave his firmaen to that effect, after which wee would not staye a daye longer then was necessary for our embarqueing. Whereat that [they?] replyed noe; they weare our freinds; and vowed by all their divells, as their fathers sowles, that within few dayes wee should have our firmaen desired, written soe effectually and such agreement made betwixt us before the Prince as never hereafter there should be breach of freindshipp: that all Guzerat was now [ ].' They would not, however, procure another parwāna for the transport of the rials, though they offered to allow them to be removed to the English factory, and promised that if Is-hāq Beg and the English were unable to agree upon terms for purchasing them, the latter should then be permitted to transport them. Meanwhile, a letter should be written to Cojahnaceere [Khwāja Nasīr] and Jam Coole Beage [*see* p. 145] to furnish the English with any money they might require, free of

interest. These terms the factors indignantly refused, but at last consented to forward the letter, which is now enclosed. They are hopeful that things will for the future be on a better footing; 'therefore it is our opinion you a while runn a faire course with them, seeing your other occasions will inforce you, for their feare of us, which they have and doe dayely discover, will doubtles bring themselves to conformetie. What Isack Beage doth intend about the tancksale[1] is not yet knowne. On Munday next, which is two dayes hence, is the daye assigned by the Prince to begin to conferr on all gennerrall businesse belonging to the kingdome of Guzeratt [ ].' They will endeavour to make sale of the ivory, coral, and amber. As the fleet must go to Jask this year—otherwise 'it may be a great crack to that trade'—and the Portuguese have twelve galleons there, they advise that the two ships intended for England be sent with the rest. They have not yet received the promised bills of exchange from Ahmadābād. Gum-lac shall be provided. As they can get no better broker from Surat, they will put up with 'Hergee' [Harijī]. *P.S.*—'Wee perceave there is a resolution in Afsulchan and Isakbeag to propose some articles unto us in presence of the Prince [ ].' (*Copy. Damaged.* 3 *pp.*)

ROBERT HUTCHINSON AT BURHĀNPUR TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 7, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 86).

Having received letters from his friends in England calling him home, he renews his request for permission to return with the first ships. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

RICHARD LANCASTER AT CAMBAY TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 8, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 80).

Good progress has been made in providing 'tappachindes', 'threed tapseeles,' 'mentasses,' 'champalls,' &c. No money yet received from Ahmadābād. He understands that he is not to provide any goods for Bantam, but only for Sumatra. Requests further instructions on certain points. 'For the pangeares [*see* p. 178] for quilts I have sett the taylors to worke upon them,

[1] Mint (Hind. *taksāl*).

lyneing them with red gagiea[1] according to those formerly made.' They should be ready shortly. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1½ *pp.*)

CAPTAIN JOHN WEDDELL AT SWALLY TO [THE PRESIDENT] AT SURAT, OCTOBER 8, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 75).

In rummaging the last prize, they have just found about 300*l.* under the well near the mainmast. They are now draining off all the water in the hope of finding more. Stores, &c., needed; also a supply of money. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 1 *p.*)

WILLIAM MARTIN, GEORGE PIKE, AND JOHN GLANVILL AT BROACH TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, OCTOBER 9, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 78).

They are urgently in need of funds. With regard to the indigo Yāqūb Beg endeavoured to force upon them, the [? Shek]dare [*see* p. 205 *n.*] has since importuned them to take it in. Upon their refusal he threatened to prohibit the weavers and others from dealing with them, and further to prevent their dwelling within the town. They expect that Yāqūb Beg when he returns will take some violent course, and they would be glad therefore of further instructions. Gunny wanted. They request orders regarding the number of narrow baftas and 'bucker' to be bought. It is now too late this year to provide the 'baftaes of extraordinary length and breadth' required by the Company. They hope to clear the caravan from Ahmadābād to-day. (*Copy. Damaged.* 2 *pp.*)

CAPTAIN JOHN WEDDELL AT SWALLY TO [THE PRESIDENT] AT SURAT, OCTOBER 9, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 76).

Since his last letter they have found to the quantity of 300 rials of eight, and hope to discover yet more. Requests the appointment of some one to see it dispeeded up from the waterside. He sends a bottle of beer, and would have sent more, but 'they keep all our bottles alofte and doe not returne them back'. *P.S.*—'Yf the Dutch President doth come downe with you, I desire to knowe of it a daye before your comeing.' (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

[1] Gujarātī *gajiyā*, cotton or silk cloth used for lining. The name is said to be derived from the Persian *gaj* or *gaz*, a measure of varying lengths.

THE SAME TO [THE SAME], OCTOBER 10, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 77).

Enumerates the goods landed yesterday from the junk. 'Her monyes wee hope wee shall finde under her ballest.' 'Yesterdaye, spying a saile with a flagg in the mayne topp, I judged her to be the *London*, but comeing aboord of her I perceaved it was the *Sampson* with Hollanders in her, come from the Red Sea, where shee hath taken what wee looke for, I meane the juncks of Shaulle and Dabull. Of seven [ ].' 'Further you shall understand that the Governour on this side water hath given order that wee shall have nither carte to carry your goods to Surratt nor to bring us water, neither suffer any thing to be brought to the waters side. I pray you to take order with him there or suffer us to right ourselves upon him.' Begs the use of a horse to ride between Swally and the waterside; also a thousand mahmūdīs on the ship's account. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 10, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 78).

Provision of ship's stores. They are closely supervising the rummaging of the prize, whose captain, pilot, and passengers are still aboard, as also the slaves. If the Portuguese prize is to proceed with the fleet, dutty for her sails should be supplied. The *Dolphin* might be sent down to give her a spell, 'if you intend to keep one there still.'[1] The junk of Surat is reported by the Dutch to be coming with their other ship [the *Wesp*]. 'This Fleming which is now arrived hath maney Moores woomen aboord, but what they intend to doe with them I knowe not.' (*Copy. Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 10[2], 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 87).

Rumour of a Portuguese fleet, but 'whether intended hether, or to joyne with those form[erly at] Jasques, is yet uncertaine'. Begs his speedy repair to the port, both to advise with regard to their own proceedings and to confer with the Dutch commander 'about his shipps consorting with us and speedy putting to sea; for much better weare it in my judgement to meet at sea then to be to strictly

[1] At the Bar of Surat, to watch for the returning Surat junk.

[2] The position of this letter in the book, as well as its contents, suggests that the date should really be the 15th.

limitted in a dangerous harbour'. He is concerned for the safety of their blockading vessels. Instructions requested whether they are to continue unlading. As the supply of carts is limited he suggests that a warehouse be hired at Swally for the temporary housing of the 'chanderouze [1], cowhe seeds' [*see* p. 83 *n.*], and other goods. (*Copy. Damaged.* ¾ *p.*)

ROBERT JEFFRIES AND NICHOLAS CRISPE [2] AT 'DEUGAR [3],' NEAR CHAUL, TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, OCTOBER 10, 1621 (*Ibid., f.* 90).

'In reguard Coge Daut [Khwāja Dāūd], a marchaunt greatly esteemed by Mellique Amber, and sent purposely to receave and accompany to the court such as should be appointed to the reconsilement of our difference with him for the spoyle of the Agra caffila, came soe lately to Choule, wearie through his speedy repaire, wee began not our jorny this daye, as was determined; but in the morning (God willing) wee shall without any hinderance. Albeit this afternoone brought with it sad tideings to this Governour and people, whoe certified mee that our new fleet from Eingland had eight dayes since taken their junck; which to us was a festivall, hopeing that wee shall hold the Mellique to the more resonable condicions in satisfieing our masters losse, and (on conference with him) by meanes thereof will stand on tearmes on the better advantage. This Governour, tristified with the said tideings, did earnestly intreat us to wryte these lynes unto you to sollicit that their goods might be kept from spoyle or purloynement, and that kinde entreaty be extended to such of their people as shalbe detained in our custodie untill such tyme as you should understand what successe wee should finde with the Mellique; whereunto wee

[1] Maize (Arabic *khandarūs*).

[2] Went out to India in 1617 as purser's mate in the *Bull*, and returned in her at the end of the following year. In 1620 he was appointed purser of the *London*, and later on was made a factor. In Feb., 1624, his brother Ellis petitioned the Company to grant him an increase of wages, and he was then 'commended to be a very honnest, sufficient yong man'. Soon after, however, came the news that Nicholas had been lost in the wreck of the *Whale* off Surat in March, 1623. On Oct. 5, 1624, administration was granted to Ellis Crispe for the estate of his brother Nicholas 'late of Allhallows, Lombard Street'; and later (March, 1628), Ellis having died, fresh letters of administration were issued to an uncle Nicholas. The celebrated Sir Nicholas Crispe was probably a cousin.

[3] The 'Dewghur' of the Indian Atlas; a village about two miles from Chaul.

answered that wee sought not to make [ ] in the Mellique [ ] was assured such was intended both to their goods and [them ?] albeit wee did never write unto you concerning the same; whereat they seemed revived and much satisfied and gave many thankes for the comfort wee gave them, and doe hope such care hath bin in the carriage of that businesse that accompt of pettie pilferry pluck not a great peece from our masters purse in our now stout authenticall treatie with the Mellique, and desire their hopes maye bee accomplished, both for our faire entreatie with the Mellique and more freindly composement of the difference of the same. Seede Amber, Seede[Y]accote, and Seede Rahan[1] doe in all love salute Mr. Kerridge and intreat that Seede Soorore[2], the captaine of the junck, for being in great esteem with the Mellique, may have his respect accordingly, with freindly usage unto them all, whereof for our parts doe make noe question. At our departure from the fleet report made our jorney but eight dayes travell to the court, but wee shall find [it ?] to be even double; where soe soone as God shall graunt us admittance wee shall instantly advise the passage of our successe.' (*Copy. Damaged.* 1½ *pp.*)

William Methwold at Masulipatam to the Company, October 10, 1621 (*O. C.* 1002).

Refers to his previous letter [*not extant*] sent by the *Globe*, which sailed August 25. Writes now by the Dutch yacht *Naerden*, bound for Holland. 'It rests onely to advise you what I have understood from other partes. And first from Surratt, from whence wee receaved late letters bearing date the last of August, and were thearby certainely informed that Ruy Frere de Andrada, who had neare Jasques encountred your last yeares fleet with four gallions and with dishonor and some prejudice to his shippes forced to retire to Ormus, is since reinforced with two more gallions from Goa, with stoare of men and other small vessells; with whose helpe having repayred his former hurts, he is now readey with six gallions to attend the comming of this next intended expedition for Persia. And this is all of newes that letter contayneth. How it stands with your servants and affaires in Pollecatt, you will best

[1] Sīdī Ambar, Sīdī Yāqūt, Sīdī Raihān. [2] Sīdī Surūr.

perceave per this enclosed letter[1] from the factors theare, which having lately receaved, and beeing the first since the payment of your part of the garrison, I thought fitt to send you as well to let you see the charges as such other difficulties the letter recommends my endeavours to remedy; whearin I have fruitlesly mooved in as much as concernes the entertainement of unnecessary soldiers, it beeing a point of their commaund, in which case whatsoever they hould necessary must be requisitt, keeping us close to the article which enjoynes us halfe payment; which they say they doe not purposely augment, because their masters orders enjoynes them to all convenient frugalety. And for matter of trade, certaine articles agreed uppon per the Counsell of Defence [*see* p. 253] (whearof you cannot choose but be long since advertised) compriseth its whole order of manadging, whearin wee are obliged to acquaint them with our intended investments, and they desiring the same goods are to contract together with us, or, yf not, to suffer us to proceed alone; which beeing done so farre as our capitall will extend, they are not restrayned from farther trade yf they have better meanes; a point Mr. Mills misunderstandeth, for wee are to acquaint them with our wants and intents, not they us, and thus they hould us to the strict sense of all agreements, whilest themselves violate or infringe in part of all authentick and serious treatyes.'[2] The *Schiedam*, which arrived September 15 from

[1] Not extant; but it is evidently the last of the letters abstracted in the following 'Notes regarding the English factory at Pulicat' (*O. C.* 885):—

'9 Aprill, 1621. The *Globe* sett saile from Jaquatra towards Pellicatt, and in hir Thomas Mills and John Milward went in hir to reside at Pellicatt. (*From President Fursland's journal.*)

'9 Juni. Thomas Mill[s] and John Milward arived at Pellicatt, and nothing could then be executed there on our partes till the Governour for the Dutch in that place should there arive from Musilpatam. (*Letter from Mills, July* 10, 1621.)

'The Dutch pretende debts standing out in Pellicatt for 2 or 3000 pagodes. (*Ditto, July* 16, 1621.)

'Ours in Pellicate write that they had paid our moyety of the charges in Pellicate for theis three monethes past, vizt. 940⅛ [rials]:

'For the souldiours pay, three monethes, 871¼ r[ial]s.

'For the Forte charges, 68⅞ r[ial]s,

besides the expence of powder, shott, and other munition, to be brought to accompt afterwardes. That the Dutch do put in and out souldiors at their pleasure without our knowledge or consent. (*Ditto, September* 22, 1621.)'

[2] On Aug. 12, 1621 [N.S.] the Dutch Governor-General wrote to his subordinate at Masulipatam (*Hague Transcripts*, Series III. vol. i. No. L 1) directing him to discontinue

Jakatra, brought not a word from the English there, and he is confident the Dutch concealed her intended departure. They have depopulated Banda and terrified the people of Pulo Run into submission. Of all this, however, the Company will have received full information from other sources. He hopes soon to report in person. *P.S.*—Prices of spices brought by the *Schiedam*. (*Holograph. Endorsed as received by way of Holland*, 1622. 1¾ *pp.*)

WILLIAM MARTIN, GEORGE PIKE, AND JOHN GLANVILL AT BROACH TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, OCTOBER 12, 1621 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2123, *f.* 82).

Have received the letter and present for Yāqūb Beg. 'Ten dayes since hee went from hence with all his souldiers to fight against the Gracees[1] at Majaculmarye[2], 15 course hence Brodera waye; where hath been many hurt and slayne on both sides. Amongst others his brother is slayne. When himselfe will returne is uncertayne.' It may be difficult to provide a guard for the convoy to Ahmadābād. Have received bills of exchange for 10,000 mahmūdīs, which have been accepted. They can never get advances from these shroffs, and in fact have always had trouble to get the money when due. Further instructions desired regarding the goods to be provided for Achin, &c. The money when received will only pay their debts. They were glad to hear that measures had been taken for the free passage of their goods

the practice, at Pulicat and elsewhere, of buying cloth jointly with the English: 'We are not bound to do so by the contract, and we do not consider it advisable to bind ourselves in the matter; so do your best, without making the English any wiser than they are. We again warn you not to trust them in the least, for we find it productive of no good. It is also desirable that they should live outside rather than inside the fort. Do not let them infringe on our jurisdiction, honour, and prerogative. Make them pay from month to month the half of all expenses of the fort and garrison of Pulicat, and do not agree to the payment of any portion here (unless it should be to your advantage). In this way we shall avoid the necessity of running after the English, and they on the other hand will have to come to us.'

[1] The term *Grāsiā* was originally applied to 'a military and predatory chief in Malwa, Rajputana, Guzerat, and Cutch, claiming a portion of the revenues of certain villages, either as a grant originally from the superior authority, in requital of military service, or as the price of forbearance from plunder' (Wilson's *Glossary*). It was, however, extended to mean any kind of blackmailer or freebooter; see the quotations in *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd edn., p. 395.

[2] Not identified.

through 'Unclisear' [*see* p. 113 *n*.], which will save both trouble and expense. The goods from Ahmadābād were dispatched three days ago, but they do not yet know what the customs on them will amount to. Mr. Bickford writes that the Governor's indigo is 'Jambusar', but they are informed it is of Sarkhej. 'It rests still as formerly, some in our howse, the rest in the messeet' [*see* p. 280 *n*.]. (*Copy. Damaged.* 2 *pp.*)

Captain John Weddell at Swally to [the President at Surat], October[1] 12, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 83).

They have searched every crevice of the prize, but have not found above 48 rials since their last advice. It would be an infinite labour to throw out all the ballast, which is at least six feet deep, and all of a clayey substance. The captain and purser declare themselves ready to forfeit their heads if any more money be found; but if desired he will examine them more strictly 'by punishment or the feare of torment'. They understand that 'content is given to the insulting Governour', and that orders have been issued for the supply [of carts?]. The Dutch have been aboard the prize to see the blacks, but he does not know their intentions. 'I have bin very inquisitive to learne the pass[age] of their proceedings in theise partes, as well in relati[on] from the cheef of them as by populer divulgements; and thus much I have understood. They have taken one of the juncks belonging to theise parts of the Mogolls dominion[2] and have sunck her, with them that were in her, and have taken four or five more of Dabull and Diu (of which I doubt not but you have already understood), and that out of these it is reported they have taken to the valew of two tonn of gowld, besides other treasure invallueable; which irregular course of theirs I much feare will fall heavy upon us if they be suffered to carry away the spoyle, and wee left destetute

[1] 'September' in the MS.

[2] Viz. of 'Cats', according to Van den Broecke's letter in *Hague Transcripts* (Series I. vol. iv. No. 140). This is probably the 'Cuts-nagore' of Downton and the 'Cache' of Bocarro, identified by Sir Henry Yule (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 286) with Mandvī, in Kutch. Van den Broecke says that the persons on board were set ashore on the Arabian coast. He confirms the statement that this and other vessels taken had passes from the Dutch factory at Mokha, and forwards a copy of a strong remonstrance he had received from the Governor of Dābhol.

of those present meanes of satisfaction which we have long expected for our former losses. This being soe grosse an affront of theirs, that makes us all sensible of future inconveniences, I could wish it weare permitted us to call them to accompt at present for these unsufferable wrongs, tending both to the ignomyne of Christians and to the great disturbance of our long continewed comerce in these parts; which, as shalbe judicially considered, may be speedily determyned of before prevention be made.' He will send up his gunner to superintend the making of great shot. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1¾ *pp.*)

JAMES BICKFORD, NATHANIEL HALSTEAD, AND WILLIAM HILL AT AHMADĀBĀD TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, OCTOBER 12, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 88).

Difficulties in packing their indigo. Also wish to know 'whither the Company forbid not dyeing of baftes as well as dutties into cullour', and how they should be marked. Indigo nearly ready. Some coral might be sent up with the rials if there is a glut at Surat. The 'cuttannes quilts' [*see* p. 10 *n.*] are ready. Order should be given to Lancaster to provide 'pangeries' [*see* p. 178 *n.*] in Cambay. 'There are divers marchaunts of this towne &c. that desire to lade goods upon our shipps for Mocha, Persia, &c., and hereof wee pray you to consider, it being a thing desired by our masters; and upon your reply wee shall guide ourselves.' (*Copy. Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

CAPTAIN JOHN WEDDELL [AT SWALLY] TO [THE PRESIDENT AT SURAT], OCTOBER 13, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 80).

The goods asked for were sent yesterday. Hopes the other fleet will come in time to join them, but he is ready to sail for Persia at three days' notice. They still have trouble about watering and the provision of carts. He is convinced himself that there is nothing hidden in the sand which forms the ballast of the prize, and thinks any further disturbance of it may upset the vessel. Requests orders as to which vessel shall relieve the *Lion*. He considers the *Andrew* the most suitable, as she can be got ready quickly. He has advised Mr. Pinder to bring her ashore and trim her, but the latter defers action pending the arrival of his admiral. The junk is ready to be taken up the river, but a native pilot

and sailors must be sent to man her, 'our owne being altogether ignorant of the passages of that river.' 'You may well tearme the Dutches dealeing hard and their shuffling cruelty.' He thinks their action is likely to endanger English interests, and that something should be done to stave off the consequences. 'You have much respect with the Governour and cheefes of th[is] towne. You may make appeare how utterly ignorant wee weare of all these theevish proceedings. Their cheefs are all ready at Surratt in pawne there soe well as you, among whome the master of the shipp, one without whome they cannot goe to sea, hee alone being all the marriners in her. I know your more creditt their more then enough to match them; and but your word hether shall strengthen me sufficiently to keep in my power (for answer to hereafter objections) whatsoever they at present in this roade most falcely and injuriously call myne' [*sic*]. Excuses his boldness in tendering this advice, but begs a speedy answer. 'I greatly feare the Dutch hath caught the bird which wee soe long have expected, I meane the junck of this towne, for noe other purpose yet to make their peace with these people, and peradventure have to that end left their pinnace to waft her hether. In such case be pleased to scertifie whether at arrivall they shall continew their possession or that I shall cease her out of their hands, with whatsoever pertinent to her, for the causes you have already determyned. That pinnace som saye to contayne the treasure of the surprised [junks].' *P.S.*—Urges an early valuation of the prize goods in order that the sailors may know what to expect, as an encouragement for the future. (*Copy. Damaged.* 3 *pp.*)

EDWARD HEYNES AND ROBERT HUTCHINSON AT BURHĀNPUR TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 13, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 89).

Letters received and dispatched to Agra. Have sold their 'Bulgar hides', but find no demand for their coral, amber, and ivory. They are thinking of sending the amber to Agra. It is rumoured that [Soares], hearing of Bangham's arrival, has applied to 'Hackum Cushall [Hakīm Khush-hāl] for the Princes firmaen to send [for him].' They do not believe this report, and are confident he can do nothing. 'Hee pretends the losse [of] 25,000 rupies, showes all men long scrowles of part[iculars?], which causeth many to beleeve

him and pitty his misfortunes. Wee cannot yet finish [with] Afsulchon and Isack Beage for our firmaen, although dayly wee visitt them and press it with much earnestnesse. His departure towards Surratt is reported to be shortly; before which if wee receave it not to content, you shall soon understand thereof. In the meane time wee desire your patience.' *P.S.*—'Wee understand that Rustan Chon [Rustam Khān] with other umbraes [p. 274 *n.*] are inordered to fetch in the Raja of Daytah [p. 74 *n.*]. When hee arive, wee will petition against him and by firmaen free ourselves of the extortion in that place.' (*Copy. Damaged.* 1½ *pp.*)

EDWARD HEYNES AT BURHĀNPUR TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 13, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 88).

'I have now continewed in these parts two yeares beyeond the limitts of my former resolution,' and it is nearly seven since he left England.[1] Requests permission to return by the next ships. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

MATTHEW DUKE AT MASULIPATAM TO THE COMPANY, OCTOBER 13, 1621 (*O. C.* 1004).

Wrote by the *Globe* and also by way of Surat [*see* p. 260]. 'This smalle shippe or yolke[2] is mostly ladne with pepper, procured on this coast at a towne caled Tegne-Patnam[3], near St. Thome, but brought thear overland from the coast of Malabar, cost (as I am informed) with all charges 70 rials the behare (dear enough). The rest of her lading is long cloathe (the sorte not unknowne to yourselves) and sum stuffes of Bengale, with such other comodities as these parts afford. The 15th September here arived the *Scheedom* of Delft; came from Jaccatra to this coast in a month, but brough[t] no letters for the English, which seemeth wery strang unto us all, and cannot but doubte that there is sum great falling out at Jaccatra.' Dutch excesses in the Bandas. Pulo Run conquered. Bantam still refuses to have dealings with either Dutch or English. A French ship burnt at Jakatra. Fight between three

[1] It will be remembered that he came out with Roe as his secretary.

[2] Yacht (the Dutch *Naerden*).

[3] Afterwards the site of the English settlement called Fort St. David. It is nearly a hundred miles from St. Thomé.

Dutch vessels and a Spanish plate ship in the South Seas. 'The said Dut[c]he have likewise sent six shipes to the coast of Malabar to meet with the Portingale galeons. Here is now on this coast, besides this smalle ship now returning for Hollan, two great Dutch shipes, one of which is shortly to goe for Jaccatra; by which ship I purpose, God willing, to send jornall and leager of all your affaires of Petapolie; for now there remaneth no more but the pursselaine to sell, the lead being all sould and moast part of the mony received for it; the rest wilbe paid in a month or little moar, for it is in very suffitient mens hands; which lead mony once received, ther will then remaine only a debt of 32½ pa[godas], and the purselaine; which purselaine I doubt will not sell thear, but must be transeported to som other part. The lowest price the lead was sould at is 14½ pagodas per cande, the cande containing 20 mane, and each mane neare 26 lb. habberdepoise. The Hollanders have yet som store of lead, but it is in three square blocks. Sum bars they have also, but not many. The bars are most vendable and Petapolie best market for that comodety, and in mine opynion a fare better place for buyeing of sundri sorts of cloath in greate quantety and far better cheape then hear to be had. I meane on the Englishes part, by reason that the Dutch with there great soms drawe most men to them. It is now two monthes siththence I came from Petapolie, and in all this time I doe not knowe that ther is bought or contra[c]ted for one fardle of cloath; only ther is 1,000 pagods paid the Dut[c]he Governor, Andres Sere [*see* p. 255 *n.*] on 3,000 peeces of longe cloath to be delivered in at Mesulepatnam in nine monthes. This bargen was concluded betwene Mr. Wm. Methwold and dicto Sere long since, but they have till July to deliver it in, which is somwhat late. Yf I migh[t] have advised, the manadging of this cloath should have ben in the Englishes hands, partly to have seene into that trade, wherein the Dutche doe invest two-thirds of ther monyes; and in regard of there longe experience they have had of the comodeties on this coast, I cannot but thinke they finde that trade moast profitable. But all thinges are caried by a single duble voice and not ordred by consultation; which I could wishe were otherwise, for considering that the factory of Petapoli is dissolved, wee are enow to have steered our owne course and not to saile by another mans compas. I doe not incert this caution upon any

certen ground or just cause of suspition other then common reason doth lead mee to; which is to doubt the worst, for thold fable is that woolves are often clothed in sheepes skines, and it is alwaies good to doubt the worst. I must confesse that I have found hetherto good quarter on the Dutche part; but till now wee have not had to doe with them in matter of moment, but in frendly sosiety, in which in my judgment I have highly comme[n]ded the cariadge of the Dutch Governor, as well for his temperance at mere meetings, as also for his sereousnes in the close folowinge of his masters affaires, in which hee useth much dilegence. The cheefe governor of these ports of Mesulepatnam, Petapolie, and Narsapurpeta hath ben heer this month and moar, by which meanse cometies [*see* p. 47] and other merchants are ferefull to com to towne, for hee is a great man, *parente de roie*, looking for great presents and muche observance; and till hee be gone (which is said wilbe now vere shortly) ther wilbe smale busines performed. Imediatly after the shipe the *Globes* departure Mr. Methwold, by word of mouth, appointed mee for Accountant and Casheer here in Mesulepatnam, but to this daie hathe neyther delivered me the cashe nor inventory of goods remayning, whereon to ground or frame an account. What the cause is I can only conjecture, but have no scerten knowledge. Your marchandizing at Policatt, it may apeare by Mr. Milses letters, goeth roundly forward, they having invested the moast part of there capetall brought with them and have had further supply of 4,000 rials of eight from this factory returned them by exchange. Yf the cometes and those with whome they contract performe accordingly, all will noe doubt doe vere well; but I fear me that they will find slacke performance, and so be dissapointed of ther expectacion. But time must deside this doubte, which I wishe maye sort to content. The charges of the foart for theis three monthes past is 939⅜ rials, besides powder and shot not yet accounted for. St. Thome is said to be beseeged by the bordring inhabetants, besides sivell broyles among themselves.[1] Here is a jonke now returned from the Red Seas from a place there named Mochco[2], where met this year 35 jonkes from sundri parts, but found very bad market for the comodyties they caryed. They left ther at ditto Mochco two Hollands shipes which came ther from Surat, but saw no Englishe

[1] See Methwold's narrative in *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, p. 994. [2] Mokha.

shipes. I pray God blise and preserve your shipes that went from Suratt, and keepe them and all others from danger. The Portingales have sent to the releefe of four of there galleons which are at Ormusse two other galleons, and inordred all six to staie there for the comming of others out of Portingalle; which once joyned, doe purpose sum exploite against the English. I pray God to devert there wicked devices and let the harme they pretend to others [ ] to ther owne overthrowe. It is here now latly reported that the Decan warrs are ended and truse taken betwene the Mogull and them; which yf, it is to be hooped ther wilbe some good vend for your great store of purselaine in theis factories, which God grante to good profitte.' (*Holograph.* 5 *pp.*)

William Hoare at Swally Sands to the President at Surat, October 14, 1621 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2123, *f.* 84).

The goods are being rapidly forwarded to Surat. Requests instructions whether the 'couha seeds' [*see* p. 83 *n.*], opium, and myrrh should be sent up, or weighed, packed, and placed on board the ships. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

Captain John Weddell, aboard the *Jonas*, to the Same, October 15, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 86).

Suggests that some one be sent by land to Chaul or some such place for news of the ships. Will forward his accounts to-morrow. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

Richard Lancaster at Cambay to the President and Council at Surat, October 15, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 88).

Progress of the investment. More money required. Commends the bearer, an Armenian named 'Joseph Guffall', to their courteous treatment. *P.S.*—'Signor Cogea Dervece' [Khwāja Darwesh], from whom he has received many courtesies, sends his salutations. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

James Bickford, Nathaniel Halstead, William Hill, and John Clark at Ahmadābād to the Same, October 17, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 93).

They are about to start for Sarkhej, and will write from thence. The letter forwarded has been presented to the Governor of

Ahmadābād, who promised to send an answer, to write to the Governor of Surat 'for paseing toffa' [*see* p. 126 *n.*], and to send some horse 'to asist the convoye from Radwassett[1]'. Halstead will be dispatched to meet the convoy, though he can ill be spared. They will do their best to provide the goods required; but the time allotted them is short. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

JOSEPH HOPKINSON AT SURAT TO [PRESIDENT RASTELL AT SWALLY], OCTOBER 19, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 90).

Letter and bills of exchange sent to Cambay. He is about to dispatch bills for 13,000 mahmūdīs to Broach. Two letters from Cambay for the President and Captain Weddell were sent to Swally this morning. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 19, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 90).

The bills for Broach have been sent off. Letters received from Burhānpur. There is a rumour that two English ships have been taken by the Portuguese, but he is persuaded it is false. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

WILLIAM MARTIN, GEORGE PIKE, AND JOHN GLANVILL AT BROACH TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, OCTOBER 19, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 91).

Regret that Surat cannot supply them with money. Have ordered 200 corge of stuffs for Achin, but will endeavour to reduce the number, and 'what wee can lessen with them of that kinde shalbe made into bucker for Eingland'. Of 'selaes' they have not got many, as they are particular in their choice of the raw cloths, and have rejected many. Provision of baftas, blue and white, and 'cannakins' [*see* p. 95 *n.*]. They are still plagued about the Governor's indigo. The 'Shakdare [*see* p. 205 *n.*] and Cutwall' [*see* p. 48 *n.*] tried to persuade them to take it into their house, 'which wee utterly refused.' They have, however, agreed to send a sample to the factors at Ahmadābād, who, if they approve of it, may negotiate direct with the owner, who is at present in that city. This has been done, and Mr. Bickford advised. Salbank arrived

[1] The point where the road from Baroda crossed the Mahī, near Vāsad. This was probably the limit of the jurisdiction of the Governor of Ahmadābād.

with his charge on Sunday morning, the 14th, and left that evening for 'Sambelott[1]', where many coaches, camels, &c., were waiting for Yāqūb Beg's horsemen to convoy them to Ahmadābād. 'Wee weare in good hope your Governours pirwanna would have continewed this yeare for free passage of our goods at Unkleyseare [*see* p. 113], but the officers say the date of that is out.' They have consequently been forced to pay 14 pice duty on the gunny brought by Salbank. Writing paper wanted. (*Copy. Damaged.* 3½ *pp.*)

Richard Barber and Justinian Offley at Baroda to the Same, October 19, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 93).

Their packing is at a stand for want of the delayed gunny. 'Tyme tarrieth for noe man.' Salbank has arrived, and has presented the Governor with some cloth. He has now departed for Ahmadābād with a guard of 30 horse and 30 foot. Owing to other buyers coming to 'Sinekerra[2]', the price of gum-lac has risen. They request instructions as to its purchase. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

William Martin, George Pike, and John Glanvill at Broach to the Same, October 21, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 94).

Have now received the gunny, and will send on the portion intended for Baroda. The Customs officers demand further duty on it. An application should be made to the Governor of Surat 'to rule those people'. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

James Bickford, Nathaniel Halstead, William Hill, and John Clark at Ahmadābād to the Same, October 22, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 95).

Returned hither from Sarkhej on hearing of the approach of the convoy, which has arrived safely. They thank them for the news sent, and answer various points in their letter. Instructions required as to the mode of packing calicoes and indigo; also advice as to the intentions of the Dutch, that they may prevent some of

[1] Not identified.
[2] Sakhera or Sankheda, about twenty miles south-east of Baroda.

them. Salbank starts to-morrow for Cambay, where he affirms he is ordered to remain. They have heard nothing of this as yet, nor whether he is to account to them for the expenses of his journey. (*Copy. Damaged.* 2½ *pp.*)

JOSEPH SALBANK [AT AHMADĀBĀD] TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 22, 1621 (*Ibid., f.* 98).

Narrates his journey from Broach. He started without a guard, on being assured that a great man was lying at C[ ]mla[1], seven *kos* ahead, whom he might easily overtake, and who had a guard of 80 horse and foot. This story was wholly false; 'there is noe more truth in these people then is in a dogg.' On the night of the following day, they lay at 'Choureandu[2], a theevish towne by report'. There they fortunately found some horse and foot belonging to the Governor of Baroda, and hired them to act as guards as far as that town. (*Part torn away.*) They arrived at Ahmadābād on Friday, having been altogether eight days on the road. 'John George did tell mee that wee should not be lett in at the great gate of the towne without leave of the Governour; and when I was within some two course of the towne, I went before to procure the gate to be opened, that wee might goe in without staye. In my absence the Einglish passed by Mr. Brownes[3] grave. They gave a volley of shott, and one fooleish fellow had charged his peece soe that hee have in a mannour spoyled his hand. His name is Robert Tway; hee belonged to the *Dolphin*.' Dispute with the carters, &c., as to the terms of hiring. (*Part torn away.*) As to the disposal of some goods belonging to Mr. Young. The escort have started on their return journey to Surat, with special charge to behave peaceably and not to loiter on the way. He himself proceeds to Cambay, as directed. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 3 *pp.*)

RICHARD LANCASTER AT CAMBAY[4] TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 23, 1621 (*Ibid., f.* 97).

(*Part torn away.*) Rs. 3,000 received from Ahmadābād. He will draw for more if necessary. Progress of the investment. As

[1] Perhaps the 'Sambelott' of p. 308. [2] Not identified.
[3] The late English chief at Ahmadābād.
[4] He writes it 'Cambayett' (cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 150).

regards 'cannakeens', it is not necessary to open every piece; 'three [or] four peeces in each busta[1] wilbe sufficient.' He would be glad to have their instructions for embaling the goods. (*Copy. Much damaged. 2 pp.*)

CAPTAIN JOHN WEDDELL, ABOARD THE *JONAS*, TO THE PRESIDENT AT SURAT, OCTOBER 23, 1621 (*Ibid., f.* 94).

Requests instructions as to the disposal of the women slaves taken in the first prize. They have surveyed the Portuguese vessels captured, and find them 'very sufficient, and will stand in great stead in our future businesse'. He thinks the two laden ships should accompany the fleet to Jask. Would also be glad to know whether they may depend on the assistance of the Dutch, and, if so, what arrangements have been made 'concerning his proportion [of auth]oryty'. 'The pledge from the Mellick Amber[2] lodgeth ashoare neere our court of guard, with whome alsoe by his great intreaty the captain of that country junck to accompany him. They require alsoe some of their woomen to be with them.' Requests instructions on this point, and also as to the supply of money, &c., to these prisoners. (*Copy. Damaged. 1 p.*)

CAPTAIN RICHARD BLYTH, RICHARD SWAN, AND CHRISTOPHER BROWN AT SWALLY TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, OCTOBER 23, 1621 (*Ibid., f.* 95).

(*Part illegible.*) Trust that they may expect the President and Council shortly on board the ships for dispatch of business. (*Copy. Damaged. ½ p.*)

JAMES BICKFORD, NATHANIEL HALSTEAD, AND WILLIAM HILL AT SARKHEJ TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 24, 1621 (*Ibid., f.* 101).

(*Part torn away.*) Have received samples of Jāmbusar indigo, 'which by noe meanes may not be medeled withall, it not being worth the carriage home.' The treasure arrived safely at Ahmadābād on the 19th, in charge of Salbank, and the escort of

[1] Bale (Hind. *basta*).
[2] As hostage for Jeffries and his companions (see p. 290).

fourteen Englishmen set out on their return journey the 22nd. Salbank has gone to Cambay. Request advice on certain points, and news of the intentions of the Dutch. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 1¼ *pp.*)

CAPTAIN RICHARD BLYTH, ABOARD THE *JONAS*, TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 24, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 96).

It will be difficult to shift the logwood from the *London*. The ships will be ready to sail within ten days. Money required for provisions, &c. Delay in landing the 'ruenasse[1]'. (*Copy. Damaged.* ¾ *p.*)

WILLIAM HOARE, ABOARD THE *DOLPHIN*, TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 24, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 96).

Sixteen carts have been sent off with goods, and the rest shall follow. He would be glad to know how he is to be disposed of. If to the southwards, he hopes they will permit him in the interim to accompany the fleet to Persia 'and take such share as the Almightie shall allott mee'. He has been very badly treated, but will not trouble them with further complaints. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 1¼ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 25, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 100).

(*Part torn away.*) Gunny, &c., required for packing. All the goods belonging to Mr. Pinder's prize have been sent up, 'the seeds and husks of cowha [*see* p. 83 *n.*] excepted,' regarding which instructions are awaited. Mr. Kerridge sealed the hold of the *London's* prize, and nothing can be done with regard to that till he returns or sends orders. The wine and beer asked for will be forwarded as soon as possible. Requests instructions about a parcel of knives on the *Jonas*. If the coffee is to go to Jask, the ship in which it is to be sent should be designated. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 1 *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, ABOARD THE *HART*, TO THE SAME, OCTOBER [? 2]6, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 100).

[The captain of the junk ?] complains of their repacking and mixing the coffee, declaring that it belongs not to the Malik

[1] *Rūnās*, Indian madder.

but to the passengers in the ship, who will not consent to its disposal; 'for whose sakes this Cabaly[1] pretends his master will the sooner end, if their goods disposed and exported by us.' Kerridge thinks this should be considered, as he is of opinion 'the Mellique will make some reasonable end . . . though not to our full demaund'. (*Copy. Damaged.* ½ *p.*)

JOSEPH SALBANK AT CAMBAY TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 27, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 103).

(*Part torn away.*) 'Heere is flyeing newes abroad that Master Kerridge hath taken a junck loaden with goods and the subjects of this King, and they doe reporte that very shortlie all the Einglish shalbe laid fast and their goods seazed upon.' He is confident, however, that Kerridge has done nothing indiscreet. The Governor here uses the English kindly, and should therefore be remembered with a present. Lancaster is anxious to procure a bottle of beer if possible. (*Part torn away.*) Praises 'Master Payne', who is very desirous of employment. He seems more skilful than Pike, whose honesty is also doubtful. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 2 *pp.*)

WILLIAM MARTIN, GEORGE PIKE, AND JOHN GLANVILL AT BROACH TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 28, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 101).

Purchase of goods. More money needed. The English convoy from Ahmadābād arrived yesterday morning, and left for Surat the same evening. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 1 *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, ABOARD THE *HART*, TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 29, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 102).

Perceives their decision about the coffee. Particulars of the weights, &c., of prize goods. 'The captaine &c. masters heere, conceaveing the course held with them in our voyage for pilladgeing hath bene very strickt, are desirous to see you before they parte with the treasure; which alsoe for other respects is necessary, for some of them being things of value may save custome, and thereby be freed from the officers fingering.' Packers wanted; also baskets for the indigo. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 1¼ *pp.*)

[1] Apparently the 'pledge' referred to on p. 310 (Arabic *qabīl*, 'a surety').

JOSEPH SALBANK [AT CAMBAY] TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 30, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 109).

Has received their directions, with the list of goods for the Red Sea, and has written to Ahmadābād for money. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1½ *pp.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, ABOARD THE *HART*, TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 31, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 104).

(*Part torn away.*) Lading of the ships. Weight of prize goods. The admiral wishes to leave the China ware on shore. (*Part torn away.*) Sends a list of the slaves, men and boys, thirty-eight in all. They are 'fitt for the Companies service in their shipps'. Orders required for the disposal of the silver delivered by Jeffries; also regarding rials and larees entrusted to him for provisions, &c., for the ships, whereof he has rendered an account to James. The sword-blades and knives returned from the Red Sea await likewise their instructions. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 2 *pp.*)

[CAPTAIN JOHN WEDDELL AT SWALLY] TO THE SAME, OCTOBER [31?], 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 105).

Concerning some ivory purloined from the prize. Accepts his advice 'concerning the proposition of proceeding twixt Capt. Blith and myselfe . . . not doubting to finde him other then your character expresseth'. Any 'question of emynences' would naturally be decided by the President.[1] Is sorry the men of the convoy gave so much trouble. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 3 *pp.*)

WILLIAM MARTIN, GEORGE PIKE, AND JOHN GLANVILL AT BROACH TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 31, 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 106).

They are much in want of money. (*Part torn away.*) Calicoes provided for the southwards. (*Part torn away.*) Request instructions regarding the Governor's indigo and the forwarding of their goods to the ships. A supply of paper needed. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 2½ *pp.*)

[1] It must be remembered that Blyth and Weddell were in command of independent fleets, and the question of precedence arose if their ships were to act together.

[THE FACTORS AT AHMADĀBĀD] TO THE SAME, [OCTOBER 31 ?], 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 108).

Have several times asked Surat for information on various points, 'and principally for your advice of the Dutches proceedings, who have now both prevented you and us, for last evening Henrick and [the ?] Polack[1] arived heere, but will not be knowne what their businesse is. They pretend a jorney to Dowlca [Dholka] for dutties to make sailes; but wee hope you conceave the Polack would not come from Surrat with such haste and expedicion upon soe slight an occasion.' They therefore beg earnestly for advice as to the real intentions of the Dutch. They would also be glad of a decision regarding the packing of their indigo. (*Part torn away.*) *P.S.*—They have sorted some of their rials and delivered them to the mintmen, the old at [ ] and the new at 2 rupees 33 pice. They send Hill's book of baftas bought. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

RICHARD BLYTH, RICHARD SWAN, AND WILLIAM BAFFIN [AT SWALLY] TO THE SAME, [NOVEMBER 1 ?], 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 108).

Have careened the *Primrose* and done their best to make her tight and serviceable, but with little success. They request the Council's opinion whether, if brought up to Surat, she could be sheathed by 'the country carpenters, she being a new shipp, onely spoyled with the worme, soe that to make her fitt for any service she must be new plancked from the keele upwards'. They think this might well be done, 'the Dutch building at their owne pleasure.' Otherwise, she must be pulled to pieces, 'whereby the Company shall receave prejudice, shee being such an excellent mowld that the eye of man hath not commonly seen a better.' (*Copy. Much damaged.* 1 *p.*)

[WILLIAM BLUNDSTONE ?[2]] TO THE PRESIDENT AT SURAT, [NOVEMBER 2 ?], 1621 (*Ibid.*, *f.* 109).

Learns from Mr. Kerridge that he has been granted payment of the money detained from him by the Agent in Persia. His

[1] Probably the Pole mentioned on p. 291.

[2] Servant to Edward Connock, whom he accompanied to Persia. After his master's death he appears to have been sent back to Surat (see p. 140).

wages as settled in England were to be *6l.* per annum, whereof he had received about *13l.* to the time of his coming from Persia, though it was only half of what was due for 4½ years. While his master lived his wants were supplied, but he is now unprovided with many necessaries and begs assistance. (*Copy. Much damaged.* 1 *p.*)

WILLIAM MARTIN, GEORGE PIKE, AND JOHN GLANVILL AT BROACH TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, NOVEMBER 2, 1621 (*Ibid., f.* 110).

(*Part torn away.*) Goods now sent down under the charge of Thomas Aldsworth; their value 11,336¼ mahmūdīs. They could not dispatch them earlier, 'for that all the boats and porters have been these three or four dayes, and are yet, imployed [in] the carryeing of Cojah Jehan [Khwāja Jahān] and Merja [ ] (which are come from Amadavaz) their [leskar?] over the river.' (*Copy. Much damaged.* 1 *p.*)

THOMAS KERRIDGE, ABOARD THE *HART*, TO THE SAME, NOVEMBER 3, 1621 (*Ibid., f.* 110).

Packing and lading of goods. Hopes they are coming down to-morrow. Returns the Bantam letters, and inquires for those from Masulipatam. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

ABSTRACT OF LETTERS FROM ROBERT JEFFRIES TO THE SURAT FACTORS, OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER, 1621, DURING HIS MISSION TO MALIK AMBAR (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i. p. 91).

From 'Nockiere[1]'. (*Date not given.*) 'Indians make some unfortnate daies for travaile. They remaine two daies in the cittie of Janneere[2]. They arrive within two miles of Doultabaud[3] the 25th of October, beeing the court of Melick. A hundred and fifty men, horse

[1] Not identified. Probably some village in which Malik Ambar had temporarily established his head quarters.

[2] Junnar, in Poona district, seventy miles north-east of Bombay. It was there that Dr. Fryer visited the Nawāb Mukhlis Khān in 1675.

[3] Daulatābād, the famous fortress, anciently known as Deogiri, which has played a leading part in the history of the Deccan from the earliest times. It is situated ten miles to the north-west of Aurungābād.

and foote, sent from Melick Amber, who desirs their repair unto him. They came to Nockiere and were admitted to the presence of Melick Amber. Melick Amber demaunded the cause of their cominge by a Portugall renegado, his interpreter. Jefferies makes aunswere in Portugesse. He delivereth the Counsells letter to Melicke. Melicks interpreter begann like a schoole boy to spell the letter. Melicke takes the letter from the Portugall and gives it to his Maltas [1]. Melicke demaunds the losse wee sustained upon the caphila. Hee aunswered six leques [2] of ruppes; the prime cost of the goods 210,000 ruppies. They are dismist from the presence of Melicke. They repaire to their tennt and Melick sends them six sheepe, rice, meale, &c., for their provisions. They retourne Melick thanks for their good cheer. They are sent for by Melick, and carrie a present with them of nine yards of scarlett. Melicks porter denis Robert Lea enteraunce. Melick consults with Jasper Gomes, a Portugall renegado. Mr. Jefferies desires admittaunce for his interpreter. They tell Melick of their present. He denis to receive it untill differences were ended. Melick demaunded whether differences in their countrie betweene man and man were governed by conscience and justice; with Jefferies replie. Melicks secound demaund howe could they require the spoile of the caffila of him; with aunswer to it. Jefferies first reason: in regard of the distrust of Yacute Cauens [*see* p. 231] armie he sollicited a warraunt for passage of the goods. Mr. Lea nowe interpreteth, fearinge the Portugalls dishonestie in that office. Mogolls enemies to the Decans and frinds to the English. The Melick laid the fault of the robbing of the caffila upon ours, because they would not take such waies as they were counselled. Secound reason: Melicks promise. In a letter of the 22th September to the commander of our fleete at Chaule hee promiseth instant satisfaction. Jefferies saith that in conscience and justice Melick out [i.e. ought] to make satisfaction. The prime cost of the losse amount to 210,000 ruppies, but the losse growing thereby would be six leques ruppies. Melicks aunswer to Jefferies secound reason: in his letter hee promised to doe what

[1] Mr. Joshi suggests that this is a mistake for the Gujarātī *mehta*, an accountant or secretary.

[2] Lakhs. Jeffries was no doubt making a liberal estimate of the money that the goods would have produced in England.

should be justice, but he found it not just to paie our losses. Melick asks if the English be men of conscience to come to him for monie and yett robb his shipp. Melick much displeased for takeing his shipp. He valued hir at ten leques, but seemed not to regard hir, but said they might [keep?] hir and expect noe further satisfaction from him. Hee desirs the Melicks aunswer in writtinge. Melick denies to give anie aunswer in writtinge. Ebraim Idlshaw, the King of Vizapore[1], suspected to have plotted treason against the Melick and to have drowned him in a tancke. Melicke cause[d] the Vizier to be disarmed, his wives and goods taken from him, and hee sent disgracefully to prison. Jefferies commaunded to bee gone. Melick gives him beetle in token of his love[2], and promiseth hee shalbe used with all curtesie. Cogee Daut [*see* p. 296] inviteth him to his tennt, and telleth him that a junck of Dabull belonging to Ebraim Idleshawe was robbed and eleven of hir men killed by two English shipps.[3] Jefferies excuseth the Companies servants from cruelty and robbing the juncke. None knowne in the Indian seas but English and Portugalls. The Hollanders, French, and Danes range in these seas. Hee promiseth our dispatche from Melicke. Courteous complement to be given Cogee Daut in writting, he beeing a principall man in the goverment. Noe talke but of the Melicks greatenes. All the goods became a spoile to the souldires. The robbery nowe fathered upon Mounsier Can, the Portugall renegado [*see* p. 267], who is fledd from Kirkee[4] to the Mogoll. A faire for all commers in the campe of the goods taken. The Kinge and Melick shared the carpetts and fine goods betweene them.'

The 30*th October*. 'Melick in private, and not to be spoaken withall.' The messenger from Surat arrived the 23rd. He fears his going to Persia will be prevented by 'the tedious delaies of

[1] Ibrāhīm Adil Shāh II of Bijāpūr. His distrust of Malik Ambar is mentioned in a letter from the Governor of Goa to King Philip, dated Feb. 18, 1622, among the *Lisbon Transcripts*.

[2] The presentation of pawn was of course merely a ceremony of leave-taking, and did not imply any 'love' for the visitor.

[3] *Note in margin*. 'This murther and robbery was done by the Dutch in the *Sampson* and another shipp and fathered upon the English.'

[4] Aurangābād, which was at this time known as Kirkī, the name given to it by its founder, Malik Ambar.

Melickes courte.' Requests that the *Andrew* may be reserved to take him to Persia, and suggests that Kerridge should go thither as Agent, with himself for second. 'Hee is marvelous discontent att the delaies of Melick for his dispatch.' If he cannot have the *Andrew*, he must follow by land. 'He is promised his dispatch, and to have his admittaunce to the Melicke, without whose leave none maie departe. One of the Melicks Viziers[1] fledd from him with 5,000 horse. Melicks delaies is martirdome to Mr. Jefferies.'

Moningo[2], *the 2nd November*. 'Jefferies had his dispatch from Melick Amber and received aunswer as formerly that hee would make noe restitution or satisfaction for the robbery done. Hee cannot arrive att Surat by the 7th currant. Dangerous travailling in the Hindoes countrie without companie. Hee hopeth to be att Suratt by the 10th of November. Moningo twenty courses from Dultabaud in the waie to Suratt. Jefferies wholly dispatcht from Melicks wearysome delayes. What hath passed hee will fully relate unto the President at his meetinge.' (2½ *pp.*)

James Bickford, Nathaniel Halstead, William Hill, and John Clark at Ahmadābād to the President and Council at Surat, November 4, 1621 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii. f. 2).

(*First part missing.*) Recommend certain concessions to some individuals not named. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

Edward Heynes and Robert Hutchinson at Burhānpur to the Same, November 6, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. f. 2).

On receipt of the letters from Surat of October 11, they again solicited Khwāja Abdala Hassan for a more effectual parwāna to his servant Pahlawān Safīd [*see* p. 281]; but he answered that he had been informed that the English at Swally had used violence to the King's subjects, and that complaints to the commanders on the point had been ignored. They replied that these statements were false, and made counter-complaints of the Governor's behaviour. Nevertheless, Abdala Hassan refused to give them any further parwāna, though he promised that Is-hāq Beg should be instructed to look into the matter and see justice done on both sides. This

[1] Probably Jādū Rāy (see p. 332).

[2] Not identified.

is all that can be expected from him. 'After many delayes and as many disputes had with Afzul Chan and Isack Beag about our articles and firmaen promised, at last (as the 29th past, three dayes after Isack Beag had taken leave at court) wee weare called before the Prince at the durbarr; when, after some conference with Afzul Chan and Cojah Abdella Hassan about our articles (which wee perceaved to be [in] their hands and not delivered), the Prince gave us this answer, that if wee would live quietly with his subjects [and] trade civelly like marchaunts, not offer force to the people of his porte nor robb the juncks and boats of Mussallmen[1] or Banians passing the seas, either subjects to himselfe or other his neighbour princes, wee should then have content in all our desires, his porte and all other his places should be ours, and more free to us then to any marchaunts; yf not, wee had then his lycence to leave his porte and depart the country. Wee replyed that wee alwayes lived freindly with his people and treated them civelly as became marchaunts, both at his porte and elce where; that wee came to trade, not to doe violence or force; and that wee were well assured there hath not any man to this tyme within his kingdomes made complaint against us of bad dealeing or wrong don by us, but such of his [officers?] and servants at Surratt as doth dayly seeke to stopp the c[ourse] of our businesse to the end to extorte bribes from us for private gaine, which being denied them doth yet vex [us to] our great prejudice, notwithstanding upon their [ ] wee have the Kings firmaen given us for good [usage?]; whoe, doubting to be blamed upon our complaints [made?] against their oppressions, preventeth us with falce informations to His Highnes (when hee was to credulus); that by meanes thereof our peticions are slighted [and] not regarded when wee seeke reformation and [ ] to their villanyes, without any mannour of justice or hope thereof from His Highnes. For our surprisall of juncks and boats at sea, wee appealed to his owne [ ] for the justnes thereof, if in cause ourselves should [ ] of our wrongs in that kinde, when upon [ ] knowledge it is apparant to the world wee are both robd [and] dispoyled of our goods, abused in our persons, both by Mussalmen and Banians on shoare, against whome upon complaint wee can nither finde justice, reform[ation] or restitution,

[1] An early example of this incorrect plural.

nor other remedy can be found to releeve us. Lastly, for our departure from his porte and countrey, wee answered wee should be ready soe to doe if hee pleased to give us firmaen [autho]rizing us, whereby wee might justifie our returne to the Kings Majestie of Eingland, by whose command, together with the lycence of his father and himselfe, wee had this many yeares traded within his kingdoms. To this hee replyed not, but said hee had directed Rustan Chan [*see* p. 303] to the Goverment of Guzaratt, and Isack Beag to be Governor of the porte, to whome on all occasions wee should repaire for justice and from whome wee should seeke the lycence of our priviledges, and what they should graunt us should by himselfe be confirmed. To which wee answered that by experience wee had found slight reguard of us and of our complaints at the hands of his Governors when wee sought for justice, and that wee could nott [rely ?] upon such priviledges; that it was his owne promise, together with Afzul Chans, that caused our attendance these four monthes for his firmaen, both for justice in our injuries and reformation in the abuses of his servants; that wee weare commaunded to deliver him these articles, which wee then presented, accompanied with a moore[1] in gould (five rup[ees]); which were noe other then his father formerly graunted us, and to require his firmaen for confirmation; which if hee pleased not to affoord us, wee desired his firmaen to depart from his porte, which should end our attendance and all other suites to His Highnes. Whereupon againe conferring with Afzul Chan and Cojah Abdallazon, hee demaunded to see his fathers firmaen of priviledges, which wee affirmed to be with you in Surratt; and makeing no further speech of them, hee tooke our articles and read them, and to the last, which concerned the landing of our currall and buying of goods for Mocho, hee rent them in sunder and threw downe the paper, sayeing wee should nither have lycence in the one or other of them, seeing that nothing elce but the profitt and bread of his people could content us. Soe riseing, gave us order to come at night to the Gushall Chon [*see* p. 273] for a fuller answer; where attending, wee found him so full of other busines that ours was not

[1] Mohur. In Elkington's notebook, 1614–15 (*Factory Records, Miscell.*, vol. xxv) there is a note that the gold 'mahoores' then current were of four sorts, worth 25, 12½, 10, and 5 rupees respectively.

thought upon, yet willed by Afzull Chan to attend him at his house the next evening to know the Princes further pleasure. At our next meeting, in the presence of Isack Beag, wee had much reasoning about certaine articles whereunto Sir Thomas Roe by his hand and seale had accorded to the ordering of the Einglish [*see* p. 38], which hee produced and deliverd to Isack Beag to shew you in Surratt. Hee caused us to translate it into Persian (wherein wee somwhat inlarged it to our owne advantages), but would not trust us with the originall to take the coppy, promiseing upon demaund to give it you. The dispute wee had thereon was principally about the bringing of gunns, and for our weareing weapons within the towne of Surratt [and] for keepeing them in our howse, which they would prohibitt if wee would bee so foolish to consent. For convoy[ing] they hould it necessary to lycence us for our defence; but untill such tyme of use they would have them left at the custome-howse. Wee weare bould hereupon to shew them the inconvenience thereof, and a little to press Isack Beag with the violence of his owne servants [used?] towards us, to the losse of our lives if weapons had bin wanting in our howse to defend us. Afzul Chan concluded that such smale matters must be noe breach betwixt us, admonishing us to behave ourselves orderly and Isack Beag to use our nation [friendly?] that wee might not have cause hereafter to complaine to the Prince against him; which hee promised with many p[rotesta]cions and tould us it was the Princes pl[easure] to graunt us his firmaen for confirmacion of all our articles desired, except [that] for [our] currall and tr[ade] for Mocho, which two hee againe referred to Rustam Chon and Isack Beag to lycence or prohibit us, and if they and yourselves conclude [thereon, should] after [be] ratified by his firmaen [if you requird it?]. Yet [it?] w[ere] to much to write you our dispute [and?] contrast [i.e. controversy] in every particuler. What is requisite to your understanding wee thought it meet to advise you, that by the circumstances you may finde the affections and resolutions of the Prince and his cheefes towards us, and conceave what smale hope wee have to finde [justice, having?] occasion, at the hands of the Prince or people. Within fewe dayes wee are promised to have the firmaen delivered us, which shall after the receipt be dispeeded towards you. Isack Beag departed hence five dayes since, with whome wee

alwayes kept good quarter. Hee promiseth you extraordinary favour, and wee partly beleeve you shall finde it so, and the trade to Mocho by his lycence if you have [ ] fairely. You must depend on him, for hee is soe ample in the affaires of Surratt that there can be noe contradiction by any in what [hee] commaundeth nor justice found with the Prince against him when he injureth you; in case whereof there is left you noe other [redress?] then your owne force to releeve you.' The business of Soares is still in the same position. The 'Cassie' [*see* p. 39 *n.*] refuses a copy of the judgement against him, and awaits the arrival of Bangham. The indigo question is also unsettled. Amber received, but no opportunity has yet offered for its dispatch to Agra. Its value at Burhānpur. They are in treaty for sale of part of the coral. Signor Gorie has again returned to Burhānpur to seek camels, which are not to be procured, and he is now bargaining for carts. He has promised to take their indigo to Surat. They approve the proposal to send a cargo to the Red Sea on the return of the fleet from Persia ('if in case two shipps should bee reserved in these partes for the next yeare'), and to force the trade, if necessary, by stopping the Prince's junk. 'Rampaxad will shortly be in meanes to paye his debts, for that Chon Chonna hath promised him buratts [*see* p. 201 *n.*] for 40,000 rupies on certaine jageres[1] for satisfaction.' Rs. 8,000 remitted to Agra. Provision of 'rustlack' [*see* p. 64 *n.*]. They cannot procure any 'of the sorte of deaplack[2] in clodds'. They are sorry that the prizes are not of greater value, and trust that the hopes of satisfaction from Malik Ambar will not prove delusive. 'The actions of the Dutch in the Red Sea by surprisall of the juncks after cartas geven them in the port of Mocha makes them stink before the Prince and people. Yt may happely proove [our] good, in that our proceedings savours more of justice and humanitie, which may begett a better respect of us in the [ ] and Prince when they compare the actions of both nations, and procure us the trade of Mocho by consent for their owne securities. It is referd to Isack Beag, who doubtless will solicite you to accompany their juncks in that trade if these broyles at sea continew; in which you must be carefull the Dutch intercept you

[1] See note on p. 90.

[2] Probably an error for *dig-lac* (Mahr. *dig*, 'crude').

not by their proffered service, which is to be doubted, for there hath lately past private letters betwixt him and the Dutch President, which gives us cause of suspition.' (*Copy. Damaged.* 8½ *pp.*)

THOMAS RASTELL, GILES JAMES, WILLIAM MARTIN, AND JOSEPH HOPKINSON AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, NOVEMBER 7, 1621 (*Abstract only. Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i. p. 112).[1]

'The *London*, *Hart*, and *Roebucke* and *Andrew* went from Suratt toward Mocha the 7th of Aprill. The Governour of Suratt breaketh his promises and playeth rex[2] with our people and busines. Hee denied us the transporte of our monies to severall factories. Wee were constreyned for the freeing of our busines to give the Governour 1,000 r[ial]s, or yeild to be so much exacted upon, with purpose to take restitution when occasion shall fitt us. Our cavidall of r[ial]s, &c., sent up to Amadavaz arrived safely there the 1st of Maye. What investments they had made for Persia. Our lynnen for England is gathered upp browne from manie weavers for ready monie, yea, partly aforehand. Wee were enforced to use our creditt at Amadavaz. Our commodities laye dead undisposed. Our corrall was deteyned in the custome-house till 20 July, when the raines were come to hinder the transport thereof.' Coral and amber at Burhānpur not yet disposed of. Some ivory sold there, but that at Agra and Surat is still on hand. None to be sent for a year. 'The sale of our leade was prohibited to all, and restreyned onely to the Princes officers, who have long beate upon it, and in September bought all at 7½ mam[ūdīs]. All not yett delivered, nor one-third of the amount received. Haveing laid aparte our care of provisions for other places, wee have applyed ourselves for investments for England; haveing provided sufficient ladeinge for the *London* and another shipp (if Persia supply), viz. 80,000 narrowe baftaes, 18,000 broad baftaes, 5,000 niccanees, 4,000 semianoes, 16,000 duttees, 200 bales Biana indico, 9,000 maunes Serques, 100 maunes silke, good store of gum-lacke; and most part ready for imbaling. A hope to furnish 2,000 maunes

[1] There is another abstract of the same letter under *O. C.* 1009, but it is not so full.

[2] To 'play *rex*' meant to act as a king, do anything you pleased. Nares in his *Glossary* quotes from Du Bartas: 'Then plaies he rex; tears, kils, and all consumes.'

pepper, whereof wee [could?] have had 4,000 ma[unds], if the Dutch had not interposed themselves, at lesse then 15 mam[ūdīs], which they have raised to 19; and doe meane to shoot the pepper in hould amongest the round churles of indico, which for hast cannot be packt into square basketts. The king of Acheene will not lett his pepper goe under 64 rials that bahare, and yet sould it to the Guzeratts for 32 rials. Two Dutch shipps retourne from Achein without pepper. The French noe better. The French att Bantam laden with pepper fired hirselfe. The Dutch have conquered Banda. The *Globe* arrived at Mesulipatan about 20th June. By hir letters of 8th Aprill from the President at Jaccatra were sent by the waie of Mesulipatan and received at Suratt. The Dutch are said to make a jest of the demaunds of restitution. The Dutch sent the English *Sampson* and a smaller shipp for the Redd Sea and Suratt with supposed great supplies. Upon the doubt of the raisinge of Cerques indico upon the cominge of the said Dutch shipps, ours bought more indico att 10 rup[ees] the man. Weddells fleete arrived att Suratt the 22 September, haveing lost but 16 men in the voiage. They toucht not at the Cape, but refresht themselves at St. Augustins and Joana [*see* p. 271], where they had good quarter and mett the *Rose* and *Richard*. The *Richard* of hirselfe surprised a Portugall shipp of Mombasse undervalued att 6,000*l.* sterling [*see* p. 272], and gave the fleete one-sixth in ready monie and some [*sic*]. The *London*, *Hart*, and *Roebucke* were crossed with windes, could not gett into the Red Sea, but wintred at Cape Rosalgate. Our shipps attended the Chaule and Dabull juncks, but thee Dutch prosecute [*sic*] them. Our[s] roade att Chaule and Dabull from the 20th August to the 8th October in vaine. Melick Amber, havinge intelligence of our intentions, sent to our shipps letters of promises of satisfaction of our goods intercepted from Agra; whereupon Robert Jefferyes was sent to his courte. The *Andrewe* tooke a junck of Melick Ambers coming out of the Red Sea, not worth 3,000*l.* The Governor of Mocha had lately made such aveines [*see* p. 12] that litle treasure was brought thither this yeare; soe that the juncks retourned poore. The Dutch in the Red Sea gave cartasses or assuraunce to the juncks to passe free, and yet most treacherously, to their great infamie, made seisure of six vessells,

one of Cannanore, two of Diu, two of Dabull, one of Ketcha [*see* p. 300]. Two of them were sunck, two dismissed empty, but those of Dabull with all their passengers whatsoever they sent to Jaccatra; whereof one redeemed hir selfe with the death of 19 of the Dutch and recovered Dabull. The Dutch threatten revenge to Dabull and utter ruine, and Diu and Chaule will surely finde noe better. Theis Dutch robbers have plotted this robberie this five years togither; make their residence at Suratt under a colloure for the same purpose. The *Sampsons* present carga[zon] landed at Suratt was but 3,200 cheekeens and 2,500 r[ial]s, which will not satisfie the Dutches debts. This gives great suspicion of some sinister designments against the people of that countrye, whose juncke is not yett arrived—even to robb the Guzeratts and to bring all to a confusion; which importing you soe much wee leave to your wisdomes to consider. Captaine of the Portugalls, Ruy Fierree, hath reinforced himselfe with six gallions; therefore wee hold it fitt to send all our force togither unto Jasques, and to desire the *Sampson* allso to accompanie them, whoe, yeilding thereunto[1], with all the rest are ready to try their fortunes. The three prises which the *London* tooke (though not those they expected) will bee the better part of 9,000*l.*, besides the marriners shares.' Names of the prizes. They assure the Company of their intention to reform all abuses. 'Our corrall is received into Suratt. Dabull had bin unsafe for us, seeing the Dutch and that towne are at variance. The prohibitions against our trade by the Guzeratts are revoaked and the like for the free exportation of our r[ial]s. Freedome also is graunted us to build a house for our best conveniencie, and is already halfe finished; yett the rent not agreed upon. Wee have resolved by consultation to renewe trade this yeare to the Redd Sea for 30,000 r[ial]s in India commodities and a hundred broad cloathes, and there to followe our begun attempte upon the Dabull and Chaull juncks for satisfaction of our last yeares Agra caffila intercepted. Your direction of houlding good quarter with the Dutch, if their shipps had come hither, should have beene observed. With the Dutch factors here wee finde noe discord.' They will answer later concerning wants and defects

[1] See Van den Broecke's letter referred to on p. 300. The English and Dutch failed to come to a satisfactory agreement, and so the *Sampson* remained behind.

of commodities. The Company's instructions have been communicated to the factories concerned. 'Wee have dissolved our factorie at Lahor and reduced it to Agra, where semianoes are to be procured and Lahor indico as easily as at Lahor, with farr lesse expence. William Biddulph by his great paines and travailes hath made an agreement for the great desperat debt which hath stood long out. Whether some part of the charges shall not bee putt upon the old joint stock. Wee are yet doubtfull of the encouragement from Persia to vend 1,000 cloathes and 600 kersies yearely, for your Persian factores have beene prodigall in manie promises unperformed. The dissentions of your factors in Persia are the principall causes of soe manie inconveniencies there. If Robert Jefferies finde not dismission from Melick Amber verye shortly, you wilbe unprovided of a factor to settle your Persia busines, for none can bee spared from Suratt, and of wining of Mr. Kerridge there is noe possibillity. A yearely supplie of eight or ten thousand mauns of leade required at Suratt, if the Dutch give not cause to lessen that quantitye. Quicksilver all sould; worth 150 mam[ūdīs] the maun, which is 4*s.* 6*d.* the pound. Two thousand maunes will sell att pleasure. That sent in the *London* came well packt, without leakedge. In unpolished corrall, not to exceede forty or fifty chests a yeare, till you find wee have sould the former. To bee of deepest collour and thickest peeces, though shorte; yet some of the meaner sorte will doe well, soe the collour bee goode. The last yeares sortes are for the most parte well liked, and wee hope of good sales nowe that the warrs are compoundinge; yet maie peradventure come short of the proffitt formerly made. Yet that people are in purpose to relinquish their corrall trade out of the Red Sea, seeinge ours soe much better then theirs. To write the bymarke of the sortement of every chest; soe the price of each aparte, for the better information of our judgement. The weakenes of the chests in Captaine Shillings fleete brought great losse in waight by emptyinge them into caske and sacks. The polished corrall wee conceive will find noe better markett then Suratt. Persia hath taught us to send noe more thither. To Mocha wee will send a chest accordinge to your direction; but wee expect noe good markett for it theire. Of amber beades, the fairer sortes, both white and yeallowe, you maie

send for 500*l.* yearely. One hundred paire of Bulgaria hides; all former sorts sould. Your prohibition of Bengalia silke we have made knowne; as also of your desires of noe more then three or four thousand peeces amberta cloath yearely. Whereby wee have also dissolved the factorie of Puttana, and will write to Mesulipatan that they proceed noe further in providinge Bengala silke, although wee finde their prices to agree with your desires. The cloath of gould, velvetts, sattins, tapistrie, &c., received in the last fleete are all sent up by the Princes appointment, and upon his adventure are sent up to the courte. Wee are confident that the cloath of gould will please and sell to proffitt. To provide eight or ten peeces sattins and grograins brokated; lett one bee grounded blacke.[1] Your jewells also wee have sent up by Nicholas Banghame and John Leechland. Your directions for sale of your jewells wee have written out and imparted to those whome wee imploye therein. Wee will observe your injunction concerning the 1,000*l.* you paid upon thee jewells in England. The double looking-glasse, which cost 100*l.*, is sould for 1,250 rupp[ees]. The three rubies, cost 90*l.*, sould for 1,400 rup[ees]. The aggatt pictures come farr shorte of your esteeme of them, by reason of quantities brought in by the Venetians; those that are allready sould of the said aggatt pictures doe produce but fifty per cent. proffitt, whereas in tymes past such yeilded three for one. The great rubie besett with diamonds, invoiced at 1,000*l.* sterling, will yeild here but 6,500 rupp[ees]. Diamonds are much fallen in price by reason of the myne lately found. That great rubie is crackt, and lesse then its waight advised by $\frac{4}{14}$. Wee are nowe freed from molestation of Sueres concerning Nicholas Bangham. Wee thinck Midnalls executors will prosecute us noe further for the goods wee recovered of his for the interessed in England. Mr. Towersons wife hath noe minde for England. Wee denie hir maintenance. She complaineth of hir husband. Fourteen bales of cloath landed at Suratt; the rest sent for Persia, but a hundred of them to be reserved in the ships for Mocha. The disposeing of your shipps uncertaine, upon diverse consideracions. If our shipps here doe not overcome the Portugalls, but either doe not fight or part upon

[1] 'For the Prince desireth it; on whose satisfaction in such services dependes his favors to us' (*O. C.* 1009).

equall termes, then must wee reteyne the greater force here for the securitye of the rest, though the charges be great.' Supply of indigo; its sifting and embaling. No provision made for Bantam, but they are proceeding with the investments for Sumatra, though the high price of pepper there is a discouragement. If the Dutch leave Achin, it will not be safe for the English to have anything there. 'Frances Fettiplace, Henrie Edmonds, John Chalkhill, William Dounman, dead.' Their wills and inventories will be sent by the next fleet. The great pearl sent in Bickley's fleet, which cost 340*l.*, sold for Rs. 5,000. 'Incourragment for great pearles.' The extra rials intended to be sent were not received. *P.S.* (Nov. 20).—'Wee made staie of the Princes juncke arriveinge out of the Red Sea, with little goods or monies. In the junck wee found 7,000 rials belonging to the Decans, and have attached them; for which wee make accompt wee must beare manie opposi-tions. Robert Jeffries arrive[d] from Melick Amber without anie restitution or expectation.' His name inserted according to order in the King's letter [for Persia]. They refer to Kerridge for further information. Biddulph, Bickford, Heynes, and Hutchinson will return in the next ships. They request a supply of experienced factors to fill the gaps; also 'incouragment by inlargment of sallarie unto such as are well deserveinge'. They will venture to increase John Bangham's pay in anticipation of approval. Rastell requests the Company to nominate a successor to him, should James be unwilling to take the post. 'Great troubles to give instructions for strategemes against the enemie. Provision of shott, whereof your shipps were meanely stored. Pacifying the marriners in the distribution of more then one-sixth of the prize goods. Rewarding them that have borne the brunte, and yet must, of the fights, and rewards to dismembred persons for the better incouraginge of others.' Kerridge was paid one-third of his last year's salary[1] on his return in the *London*. Some additional goods put in the *Roebuck*. Thomas Thorneborough has been repaid 3,954¾ mam[ūdīs] for the expenses of the *Hart* and *Roebuck* since April 7. (6 *pp.*)

[1] This is explained in *O. C.* 1009 to mean from his relinquishing his post as President to his return to Surat.

PRESIDENT RICHARD FURSLAND AND THOMAS BROCKEDON AT BATAVIA TO WILLIAM NICHOLLS, AGENT IN THE MOLUCCAS, NOVEMBER 12, 1621 (*O. C.* 1010).

'The *Exchange*, *Anne*, *Dyamond*, and pinnes *Claw* [1] we have sent in company of five Hollands shippes for Goa against the Portugall. They are to remayne upon that coast till Aprill, and then to sayle for Mosambike, and there and at the Iles of Comora and Mohila to spend theire tyme in refreshinge so long that they may be back againe upone the coast of Malabar to meet the caracks which shall com out of Portugall the next yeare. The Dutch goes admirall, and Captain Fitzherbert vizeadmirall (thoughe much against his will). God send them a prosperous and profitable voyage.' [2] (½ *p.*)

JOSEPH SALBANK AND RICHARD LANCASTER AT CAMBAY TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, NOVEMBER 13, 1621 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2123, *f.* 87).

Refer to previous letters narrating their journey from Surat to Ahmadābād. Arrangements for investments, marking of bales, and payment of brokerage. They have agreed with 'Dew Vissindas' [Deo Vishnudās], a merchant of this town, to advance them Rs. 500 to be repaid in Ahmadābād 'at 2½ double dayes after sight at the rate of half a rup[ee] eight pice per cento, which is eight pice per cento lesse then the exchange from Amadavads to Cambaya'. They have as yet received only Rs. 2,450 for the Red Sea investment, and request a further supply speedily. *P.S.*—They find a difficulty in procuring white and red 'tapsils', as 'it is a culler that is not usuall here to be had'. May they substitute white and black if necessary? (*Copy. Damaged.* 1½ *pp.*)

JAMES BICKFORD AND JOHN CLARK AT AHMADĀBĀD TO THE SAME, NOVEMBER 13, 1621 (*Factory Records, Surat,* vol. cii. f. 7).

Have provided rather more than the 9,000 maunds of indigo ordered, owing to their earnestness 'to prevent the prevention of our Dutch freinds'. An answer has been already sent regarding Himmat Khān's indigo. Salbank spent 1,000 mahmūdīs in coming

[1] Otherwise the *Dragon's Claw*.

[2] The rest of the letter is concerned with affairs at Achin, Batavia, &c.

up from Surat. They cannot now pack their round churls of indigo into square baskets, for want of time. They hope to dispatch the indigo to Surat very soon, and the calicoes shall follow later. The rials are being sorted for delivery to the mint, and as soon as they are turned into rupees a supply shall be sent to Cambay. The exchange thither is at present high, viz. three-quarters of a rupee per cent. Salbank is indebted there Rs. 12,000. The two bottles of beer were very welcome. *P.S.*—Halstead and Hill are at Sarkhej packing the loose indigo, and so are the Dutch. (*Copy.* 3 *pp.*)

NICHOLAS BANGHAM AND JOHN LEACHLAND AT BURHĀNPUR TO THE SAME, NOVEMBER 17, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. f. 10).

Announce their arrival. The goods sent up in charge of Jamshed Beg were taken to the Prince's court, but nothing can be done till his return from hunting. Heynes and Hutchinson are absolutely determined to go home; so either Bangham and Leachland must remain for that purpose, or fresh factors must be sent. 'As for the Kings comeing to Mandoe, there is no speech thereof, but that hee is gonn from Agra towards Cabull.' Instructions desired as to clearing the accounts. Difficulty in selling coral. The jewels they will try to dispose of at the court. They will soon be destitute of a house. 'It will never be otherwise in this place soe long as wee doe not secure ourselves of a house for longer tyme then from month to month. If you doe thinke it fitt that wee shall disburse or lend one thowsand roopies upon a handsome secure house for one yeare, payeing over and above the interest what such a house shalbe worth.' Request speedy instructions. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

NICHOLAS BANGHAM, EDWARD HEYNES, AND ROBERT HUTCHINSON AT BURHĀNPUR TO THE SAME, NOVEMBER 18, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. f. 8).

For the Red Sea they will provide, as ordered, 150 maunds of 'rustlack' and 20 corge of 'woddanie dammany[1]'. They certainly will not enter into any engagements with the Prince or Afzal Khān without the previous sanction of the President and Council. Bangham arrived on the 12th, and with him Jamshed Beg. The

[1] Apparently some kind of piece-goods.

'cloth of gould, &c., is at present in the Princes sercare [*see* p. 160], but referred by himselfe for itts vew untill his returne from hunting, which wilbe three or four dayes hence'. They will endeavour to sell the jewels to the best advantage. 'Jameshead Beag is like againe to be your Governour.' 'This favour hee hath donn us, that the Prince by his report is well pleased, takes well what is brought him, and may peradventure be induced thereby to favour us. For a firmaen for the Agra caphila, when wee receave advise where and what it is, shalbe indevored; but for your freedome of duties at Uglisiare [Ankleswar: *see* p. 113] and Daytah, your answer is that it hath bin an antient custome, which may not be contradicted; that you pay noe more then the riatts[1] of the King; wherewith you must be contented; that the liveings of [the] Raja of Daytah is advanced by such meanes, and to him you must be sutors for releefe; the Prince cannot prohibitt him, when from him hee receaves yearly tribute to greate valew, which must be raysed by meanes of such duties. Wee made reply to this as that our priviledges given us by the firmaens of the King gave us free transport of our goods without payeing any duties or custome but at the port onely; amplifieing our rights to the full. But what shall wee say where justice is not to be found? The poore must loose their right; soe it is with us. Wee complayne and receave naught but delutions.' Heynes and Hutchinson tender thanks for permission to return to England, and beg that arrangements may be made to relieve them speedily of their posts, that they may repair to Surat to get ready for the voyage. 'Mr. Bangams goeing up to Mandoe is prevented by the Kings proceeding in his progresse towards Lahore or Cabull; whereupon you shall not need to detayne us heere on pretence of that journey.' They have gladly yielded place to Bangham, 'our ancient good freind.' 'Our fower monthes sute with much care and trouble hath at last produced from the Prince this firmaen[2] wee send you, which although it doth not in particuler confirme punctually every of our articles delivered, yet includes all excepting the two last (for your currall and Red Sea voyage only). Yt gives you lycence for your howse, for transport of your ryalls, the dispatch of all mannour of goods outwards and inwards from the

[1] *Rāyat* (ryot), a 'subject', particularly a farmer or a peasant.
[2] Not extant.

custome-howse without detencion on any pretence, to transport them at our pleasure (wherein is your lead included, not by name but in gennerall, which could not be amended by all our disputes and intreaty for itts expression), orders for Pelwan Saphead [*see* p. 281] to our good usadge, with others which upon translation you will perceave. Such as it is you must take it thanckfully, and never expect better from this Prince. Wee have donn our best to procure it effectually, and wee are of opinion that notwithstanding it is not such as wee desire yet it wilbe such as you never receaved better. Your faire carridge and well ordering of our unruly people will bring you forth love and faire passadge to your busines; and the voyage to Mocho wilbe yours for their owne securities. Upon receipt of our firmaen from Afzul Chon, in place of ours was delivered us a firmaen to Rustum Chon, Emett Chon[1], and other Governors, which wee redd and found therein onely a commaund for them to have care to the porte of Surratt, and that, upon advise of 12 gallions from the Portingalls which intended this yeare to come into the Roade to fight with us the Einglish, wished them to have respect of us, and to asist us; much it was for our favour; which firmaen, findeing it not to conceme our busines, wee returned, which was after dispeeded. Wee wright this to the end you may apply yourselves to Emett Chon, your ould freind, and Mr. Bickford to Rustan Chon, that by the one or both of them you may curbb Isack Beag, that Jew, if hee shall un[reason]ably oppose you. Yf Jamshead Beag returne your Governor, it wilbe soe farr his dishonnour that wee hope in short tyme you shalbe delivered from that villaine. Of this you shall heare from us as the reports affordeth. The newes wee have to wright you of the court is that the Prince continewes one yeare and halfe more heere; that Jaddoo Raye [Jādū Rāy], one of the principall generalls of the Decanns, is revolted and receaved at this court with great honnour; that there is a firmaen sent to the King of Bishapoore to commaund him to send in his tribute by the tyme of the Princes waighing himselfe[2], and presently to deliver up into the Embassadors hands and souldiers of this King his diamond minde[3]; which if hee refuse to doe, there shalbe a publication of open warr against him. Brampoore at present is a leskar [*see*

[1] Himmat Khān, Governor of Broach.

[2] Presumably on his birthday (January 5, O.S.).

[3] See note on p. 208.

p. 32] of Decanns, and it is generally supposed that Chon Chonna and the Mellick Amber hath betrayed the Kings and kingdom of Decann into the hands of the Jangere [Jahāngīr]. Wee heare the Persian King is preparing warr against this King; his forces is already entred into Candahar that way, and into the countrey of Uzbeage the other way. Chon John[1] is fled before him.' The lease of their house expires in a fortnight; request instructions as to its renewal. Also as to their broker. (*Copy.* 3¼ *pp.*)

ROBERT JEFFRIES AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, NOVEMBER 18, 1621 (*Abstract only. Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i. p. 90).

'I came from the treatie of Melecke Amber with violente speede, &c., whereby I have distempered my body. The relacion of my severall conferences with Meleck Amber I sent to Surratt, and they from thence to you. Likeliehood of some of David Midletons people upon an iland here described. The *Samaritan* cast awaie att the iland of Cirne[2]. Successe of the fleete of Danes.' Affairs in Persia. He blames Monnox. 'The Portugalles are said to have taken Quexime[3] from the Persian.' He rejoices in his acquittal, and defends himself further against the charges made. Hopes of trade in Persia. 'One third dollers[4] amongst your rialls will passe at the same rates and valuation. Monie chests to be bound with iron, and the rialls putt into double baggs.' (1 *p.*)

HENRY WHEATLEY, PURSER OF THE *LION*, AT SWALLY TO THE COMPANY, NOVEMBER 18, 1621 (*Notes only. O. C.* 1009).

A new foresail omitted from his book of account. The beer is very short. The 'connyocke [cognac] wyne' commended. Their biscuits old and bad, and their meal musty. Beef and pork good; but the mustard seed had mostly to be thrown overboard. 'Habberdin[5]' is liable to 'perish sodainly'; so only a small quan-

[1] The celebrated military leader, Khān Jahān Lōdī.

[2] Mauritius (see *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, p. 780). For the loss of the *Samaritan*, see a note on p. 67.

[3] Kishm, on the eastern point of the island of that name, opposite to Ormus.

[4] Apparently German, &c., dollars are meant. Often the term was used as synonymous with 'piece of eight'.

[5] 'Haberdin' (French *habordian*) was the old name for salt cod. By 'Newland fish' Wheatley means the salted cod of the Newfoundland fisheries, sometimes called 'bacalow' (Port. *bacalhão*).

tity should be sent in each ship. The 'Newland fish' keeps well. Butter melts and leaks out if not put into choice casks. More cheese should be sent. More than half the tallow candles melted and were of no service. Lamps should be new, as the old ones waste much oil. (½ *p.*)

JAMES BICKFORD AND JOHN CLARK AT AHMADĀBĀD TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, NOVEMBER 19, 1621 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii. f. 11).

Since their last letter to Surat on behalf of 'Suphie Cann' and others whose money had been taken in the Portuguese prizes, they have been much troubled by those people, 'who acknowledge to have receaved answer, but not to their expectations.' Safī Khān is in a position to hinder their business greatly, 'and wee desire you to give his people in Surrat an absolute answer whether you intend to keep or deliver the money.' At the same time they do not wish to press them to surrender anything which may lawfully be detained. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, NOVEMBER 19, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 13).

'Wee lately wrought you in the behalfe of [ ] Gangee [Ganjī ?] concerning certaine money which hee saies was taken in the [juncks] lately surprised by our Einglish freinds. His importunetie is such as wee cannot avoid the wrighting to you againe in his behalfe. The like wee have donn for Suphie Cann; yet in both wee intrude not to desire you more in either of their behalfes then what yourselves shall see reason for it. Onely wee intreat you to shew them what curtesie you may and advise us of your intention by the first.' (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

JOHN GOODWIN AT SURAT TO [PRESIDENT RASTELL AT SWALLY], NOVEMBER 20, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. f. 8.)

Forwards the desired books of account. 'Isack Beag is arived, which wee doubt you have heard of. The rumour heere goes, and reported by some for certaine, that it is determyned by him and the rest heere in towne that there shall noe shipp of theirs goe for

the Red Sea, and that wee are in election at your returne hether to be clapt up in prison yf you restore not the goods wee lately tooke from the Dabull slave and agree unto their demaunds; as alsoe our warehowses in Muselpottam to be seased on by Melleck Ambers order, as well Dutch as English; which I leave to your consideration to consult on.' (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

WILLIAM BIDDULPH, ROBERT HUGHES, ROBERT YOUNG, AND JOHN PARKER AT AGRA TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, NOVEMBER 23, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 19).

Are unable to procure the desired testimony regarding the debt [of 'Rampaxad']. No sale yet for their ivory. They will send musters of gum-lac, as desired, and will try to dispose of the coral on its arrival. On the question whether it will be worth while to dispatch some one to the court for the sale of the jewels, they cannot advise till they know the number and value of them. 'Howsoever, wee doe conceave in few monthes there wilbee necessitie for ones beinge att the court, or rather indeede forced to bee there, to give answare to the Sindea marchants, &c., as you will perceave in a followinge point in his due place.' They are sorry they cannot help Surat in their dispute with the custom-house officers. 'What goods were sould the Kinge and Quene were registered in the Princes duffters [*see* p. 261 *n.*], and if they will not shew them it is ther dishonestyes.' An inventory of Fettiplace's effects is forwarded for transmission to England. They fear the great jewel will never yield more than was first offered by Āsaf Khān, and they have no hopes of its sale before the King's return or the dispatch of some one to the court. The Company were much deceived in the buying of it, and the seller ought to make restitution. Account sent of Mr. Willoughby's proceedings in Lahore about the moneys there recovered and disposed by him. They were glad to hear of the happy conclusion of Soares's business, though they fear he may renew his suit and seek justice from Bangham. 'What you have advised concerninge the Sindee marchaunts wee apprehended and put it in execution before your advises came, with absolute deniall to have any knowledge of such busines; which with the Nabob Asuf Cauns favour have soe long delayd them of and still continue the same; which wee are well assured wee cannot long put them off

soe, all men exclaiminge against us that wee give them not satisfaction. And sence the Kings departure they have caused us to bee sent for [by ?] the cheifes of this place, with noe smale troble and much shame to answare such a busines, but per vertue of the Nabobs perwanna which hee gave us after his departure this cittie in our behalves, they would not meddle with [us, but] ordered them to seeke justice of the Nabob, who few dayes [since] departed to the lasker after the Kinge. Soe that wee expect that shortly that some of us wilbe sent for to give answare, if the Nabob continue not our frind. Howsoever, wee are of opinion that before it bee longe wee shalbee forced to make them satisfaccion, and therefore it is necessary you advise forthwith your absolute resolution herein, for you value the prize at 1,000 and odd rupp[ee]s and there demaunds are 10,000 rupp[ee]s, soe that wee feare to make shew of any compossition. And none wee dare to trust to doe it underhand, for feare of more troble; for if it bee once knowne wee goe about to compound with them, they will force us to the uttmost pennye. Therefore wee conceave noe corse soe fittinge (after your approbation) for our creditts and easiest conclusion as to referr it to the Nabob to end the same, and still to affeirme wee knowe nothinge thereof, but what hee shall please to commaund wee are willinge to performe, in reason, if the[y] will not per other meanes bee shifted of.' A speedy reply on this point is solicited. They have sent a copy of the merchants' demands, which they consider exaggerated. They have procured the imprisonment of the chief of the 'mocadams' [*see* p. 74 *n.*] hired at Māndū, and hope to recover some of the money paid for carriage of the captured goods. 'Mr. Hughes came to this place the 10th of last month; Mr. Yonge and Mr. Willowby arrived here with there goods from Semana the 12th same month; and Mr. Parkar with theire Pattana goods arrived here the 14th present; and, accordinge as you required, wee endeavoured to have dispeeded a first caphila with the Agra and Semana goods, and for performance had hired camells and gott the saide goods two courses out of towne to a seraye [*see* p. 103] the 25th of last month; and parte of our camells comeinge to take there ladinge from thence were forcablye taken from us, beeinge presently uppon the Kinges departure the cittie, in soe much that wee could per noe meanes procure them againe, that Kinge and

great menns want of them being such; wee havinge omitted noe meanes for there releace or procuringe others, haveing as yet effected neither, which to us is noe smale greife, beinge not in us to remeady it; yet att present wee have faire promises that within four or five dayes wee shall be fitted with cammells, which if performe and can dispeed them per the prime next month, wee have yet hope they may com in season, which we pray God they maye. From our freinds att Brampare att severall tymes wee have received eight bills exchange importinge 8,000 rupp[ee]s, which are all accepted, and have good hoopes of currant payment as they shall grow due; and wee have besides neare uppon 20,000 rupp[ee]s in cash here; all which with your promised speedy supply from you and frindes in Brampore wee doubt not but will cause the next yeares provisions to bee readie in season, God giveinge a blessinge therto. And beinge thus strong in cash and the yeare runninge fast away, upon consideration thereof and affermation of Mr. Yonge that semanaes and narrow cloth may bee bought in the towne of Semana and other places thereabout ten and five per cent. better cheape then in this place, all charges cleared, to saye, ten per cent. if bought browne and five per cent. if readie whited, uppon this his confidence of such profitt to the Honourable Company and being soe many of [us] and not much to bee don untill your further orders and advises, wee have concluded the present dispeede, or with what conveniency they may, Mr. Yonge and Mr. Willowby for Semana, &c., there to performe what they have promised, and to fitt the Honourable Company with such sorts of cloth as they require. And to set them in present action wee have delivered them 5,000 rupp[ee]s in bills of exchange, to receave att sight, and 500 rupp[ee]s in ready money, with promise of further supply as occasion shalbe afforded or they require, and soe to proceede untill order to the contrary from you. Thomas Hawkeridge wee have ordered to goe alonge with the caphila for the more speedie passage thereoff. William Biddulph purposeth with Gods permission to depart this place for Surratt in five or six dayes, least by stayinge to come with the caphila hee should loose his passage for his countrey. The King is att Dillye [Delhi], and (as report sayth) he will for Cabull; but noe certaynety whether hee goes or where will continue any tyme.' The cause of their detaining the Surat 'casseds' [*see* p. 145] so long

was that they were daily in hopes of being able to advise the departure of the caravan. (*Copy.* 4 *pp.*)

CAPTAIN JOHN WEDDELL AT SWALLY TO THE COMPANY, NOVEMBER 23, 1621 (*Notes only.* *O. C.* 1009).

Advises a supply of ammunition to Surat. The allowance of pease and oatmeal in the fleet of the *Whale* was excessive; 'it decayeth before it can be spent.' They had not enough ordnance, and were obliged to borrow two pieces of the Dutch. 'Advise to contynue the cost and charges of barges.' Their white wine and wormwood wine 'prooved marvalous comfortable to our menn'.[1] Oakum and old canvas to be sent in greater quantities. Masts that have already been in the Indies should not be trusted. (½ *p.*)

GEORGE PIKE AND JOHN GLANVILL AT BROACH TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, NOVEMBER 24, 1621 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii. f. 11).

Request a speedy supply of money, as at present they are forced to borrow from their broker. They have arranged for the provision of 'erramees' [*see* p. 62], and the 'sussies[2]' are in good forwardness. Instructions desired as to further purchases of baftas. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

RICHARD BARBER AND JUSTINIAN OFFLEY AT BARODA TO THE SAME, NOVEMBER 24, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. f. 12).

Forward their accounts and promise the speedy dispatch of the goods provided for England. They have now but 6,000 mahmūdīs in hand, 'a smale quantetie to imploy 800 workemen,' and more money is urgently required. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

CAPTAIN BLYTH TO THE COMPANY, NOVEMBER 26, 1621 (*Notes only.* *O. C.* 1009).

Complains much of lack of powder and shot. The *Whale's* fleet could not supply the *London*, which has only 26 lb. of English and

[1] 'This courte being made acquainted that wormwood beere is very excelent, wholsom, and soveraigne for preservacion of mens healthes at sea, and yett no charge (or very little) unto the Companie, they appoynted Mr. Mountney to take care that two hogsheads for each shippe be prepared and put into them for their uses' (*Court Minutes*, Nov. 20, 1618).

[2] Some kind of silk cloth; see *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. 'soosie'.

the same quantity of Surat powder; the latter is worth nothing and no supply can be got in the country. They have obtained sufficient shot at Surat, though at high rates. Shot might in future be put into the ships as ballast. 'The Dutch secretly by all meanes seeketh by all cunning practizes to damnify you.' The *London*, *Whale*, *Jonas*, *Dolphin*, *Lion*, *Rose*, *Robert*, *Shilling*, and *Richard* sailed for Persia November 25. (½ *p.*)

Joseph Salbank and Richard Lancaster at Cambay to the President and Council at Surat, November 27, 1621 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii. f. 12).

Salbank is anxious to know whether his letter intended for his wife has been delivered to the care of the master of the *Dolphin*. Their provision for the Red Sea is progressing, but since news came of the arrival of the junks at Surat prices have risen three or four rupees per corge. They hope to have finished in eight or ten days, and would be glad of instructions as to their return journey. 'Heere are many reports concerning the takeing of a shipp by the Einglish wherein was goods belonging to Moores of this countrie, which amownt unto great somes as they report, and that the Einglish shalbe clapt up fast and their goods seased upon; and yesterday night wee heard that yourselfe and all the rest of the Einglish weare gonn from Surratt, onely two youths left and the Governours peeons to guard the howse. Wee woonder much at this great rumour and wee would gladly know the truth. I have feared that dogg Isack would doe all the wrong hee could to the Einglish.' (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

James Bickford, Nathaniel Halstead, William Hill, and John Clark at Ahmadābād to the Same, November 30, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 13).

Have been forced by Himmat Khān's importunity to agree with him for the purchase of his indigo at Broach, contingent on its being equal to the samples. Rs. 800 advanced to him on account—'a sorrie some for a Governour to borrowe.' *P.S.* (*Sarkhej*, *Dec.* 3). —Details of the bargain, one clause of which they regard as 'an exaction of his casanthie[1] to help himselfe'. (1 *p.*)

[1] Hind. *khazānchī*, 'treasurer,' 'cashier.'

GEORGE PIKE AND JOHN GLANVILL AT BROACH TO THE SAME, DECEMBER 1, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 16).

As they are much in want of money, they request permission to draw upon the Ahmadābād factory, for which at present there are special facilities. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

NICHOLAS BANGHAM, EDWARD HEYNES, AND ROBERT HUTCHINSON AT BURHĀNPUR TO THE SAME, DECEMBER 3, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 17).

Jamshed Beg has delivered to the Prince the English fine goods brought up by him from Surat. Part of the tapestry was rejected, being rotten or in bad condition; 'all the rest he commanded into his sercar [*see* p. 160] and referd us to his Meersamon [*see* p. 261] to cutt price for them.' This they hope to effect in a few days. Instructions requested as to the disposal of the rejected tapestry. No news yet of the caravan from Agra. A farmān shall be applied for as soon as its approach is notified. 'Jamshead Beage, by meanes of our goods sent by him, hath gotten much respect with the Prince. Hee is in hope to retorne againe your Governor, but not untill after the arivall of John Culli Beage [*see* p. 145 *n.*] at court, who by a fermaund is lately sent for to cleare him of many accusations that Isack Beage att his beinge here hath layd to his charge. Afzul Coun opposeth him, which gives cause of doubt that Isack Beage will prevaile against him, and hee directed to some other employments.' The Dutch caravan has this day started for Surat, and with it the English indigo under the charge of 'Signor Gorie and Company'. The packages are 'all in good condition, gunned [1] over and newe marked with the Companyes marke [2] by us'. 'Rustlack' and 'chowpera lack' [*see* p. 84] sent by the same conveyance. Arrangements for payment of carriage. No news received from Agra. Their markets lie dead. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

EDWARD HEYNES AND ROBERT HUTCHINSON AT BURHĀNPUR TO THE SAME, DECEMBER 7, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 18).

Intelligence received from Agra that their caravan had not started, for want of camels, and the Dutch were in like case. Evidence

[1] i. e. 'gunny-ed' (covered with gunny).

[2] Specimens of the Company's bale-mark are figured in Sir George Birdwood's *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, pp. 72, 73.

required regarding the debt of 'Rampaxad'. The Agra factors have arrested the 'moccadomes' [*see* p. 74 *n.*] of the camel-men hired by Hutchinson in Māndū last year, and have written for the receipts and the agreements made with them. These, however, were lost 'att the robbinge of the caphiloe', and only verbal witness is available. An agreement is now being concluded for the sale of their coral and the rest of their ivory. Tapestry returned by the Prince. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

George Pike and John Glanvill at Broach to the Same, December 8, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 14).

Progress of their investments. Yesternight they heard from Ahmadābād that a contract had been made with 'Hamet Cann' for his indigo at Broach. They forward the particulars and request instructions. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

The Same to the Same, December 10, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 15).

Have drawn on the Ahmadābād factory for 6,000 mahmūdīs. Some cloth has been offered to them at a very low rate; they request instructions concerning it. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

President Richard Fursland and Council at Batavia to the Company, December 10, 1621 (*O. C.* 1018).[1]

'By the *Globe*, which arived heare in safety (God be praised) the 7th presents, we have received letters from divers factoris, which because tyme will not permitt us to send att present coppies of, we will brieflie touch the needfull pointes therin contayned. From Suratt we perceave they have sent for Achine and this place as many of the sortes of clothinge required by us as could att that tyme there be procured, and intend the next yeare more largely to furnishe us. For the sendinge of a ship thether with spices, it seemes soe little will glutt that market that they desire us to deferre the sendinge untill that England be thoroughly supplied; which their advise we shall accordingly followe. The report of a conflict our shippes had

[1] Only the portions relating to the Indian factories are here dealt with.

with the Portingales proves true by confirmatione nowe from our owne people received, but the 1,500 bales of silke receaved out of Persia proves to be but 526 bales. We are gladde to heare that somethinge is retorned, for nowe there is hope that more will followe yearely, which if may be bought att such prizes that it may produce good proffitt, it wilbe in tyme a riall trade. The two shippes *Hart* and *Rowebucke* winter in the Read Sea in companye of the *London*, where they intend to take restitution for your losse caphilla spoiled by the Decanis, but their purpose failinge, they intend to retorne togeather for Surratt and to send away the prementioned two laden shippes for Englande from thence in October last. By letters from Palacat we perceave the short tyme of their aboade there hath not given them sufficient experience of the maner of trade in that place, wherby they cannot informe us what benefitt may accrewe therby. The Holanders are kinde in their outward complement and entertainement, but we doubt their performaunce for our part of benefitt by trade there wilbe as in all other places, as may appeare by their pretendinge of debts standinge out there, which must be receaved before we shall have any share; and by all likelihoud the proffitt which that place may afforde will not be answerable to the charge, consideringe the goods most needfull there made may be procured as well in other places, as we are informed from the factors of Petapoolie; and the Dutch have better meanes to maintaine their charge in that place then wee have, by settinge out friggetts and pinnises to sea to take purchase [1], wherby they gett more then their whole charge amounts unto, as you may perceive by the coppie of Mr. Mills letter received [2], unto which we referre you for more large relations conserninge the state of that busines. The cargason of goods sent in this shippe from Mesulapatnam is not soe much as Mr. Methold had meanes by him to provide, which he excuses for want of advise and the barenes of the place not affordinge larger quantities but upon longe tyme of giveinge out moneyes before hande. For advise we have not bene wanting, as may appeare by coppies of our letters sent him; but if such quantities as we require are soe difficult to be procured, we cannot expect to be furnished accordinge to our desires or as your ymployments will require; yet the Dutch receive farre

[1] To take prizes.

[2] See note on p. 298.

greater quantities yearely. We send herewith a letter from Mr. Methwold unto you, wherin we make accompt he hath advised att full of the state of that factory, and answered your desires conceminge corrall and other commodities. The commodities received from thence fittinge for Englande we have laden in the *Charles*, as appeares by our invoice, wherin we have incerted the partyculers, beinge dyamonds, longe cloth, and gum-lacke; part of the last beinge for the Pegu accompt, as is expressed. The rest of the remaines for the cleeringe of that accoumpt we have also sent you accordinge as we receaved the same. This sort of longe cloth it seemes per their advise is the beste and only sortes which that place affords fittinge for Europe, all other sortes beinge soe thine that by judgment of our frinds att Suratt (unto whom Mr. Methwold formerly sent patemes of divers sortes) they are not fittinge for England. Of this sorte nowe sent, having made triall, you may please to advertize us what quantities you desire yearely to be laden for England. There is 3,000 peeces contracted for to be delivered by the Dutch, which is contrary to our desires, for we intended the full quantytie required by us for the furnishinge of your factories heare shold be provided before any large investment shold be made for England; but if the Dutch performe honestly in delivering good cloth, and not falcyfied (which we much doubt of), there wilbe noe losse by what is agreed for.' (1½ *pp.*)

James Bickford, Nathaniel Halstead, William Hill, and John Clark at Sarkhej to the President and Council at Surat, December 12, 1621 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii. p. 26).

The indigo will be sent off almost immediately. 'Our lynens and light goods must follow after, as fast as they cann bee made ready. Cabeere [Kabīr] and two other of our servants have done nothinge elce this month but goe upp and downe from place to place and howse to howse with a chawebuck [*see* p. 48 *n.*] to cause the washers and beaters to bringe them in.' They are in need of money and doubtful of credit; so would be glad of a remittance if possible. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

JAMES BICKFORD AT SARKHEJ TO PRESIDENT RASTELL AT SURAT, DECEMBER 12, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 25).

'I am sencibly sorry for your many trobles in Surratt, which I see not how you can remeadie. Cecbaras [Shaikh Pāras ?] with his regement of rougues begines nowe to bend his malice this way; for I had noe sooner dispeeded the generall[1] but Surrge Nack [Sūrjī Nāik] came heither and tould mee hee had made us readie cartes, but uppon a letter received from Rustomdogg[2] he with all the rest of the adawayes [*see* p. 129] of this place were commanded to come to the derbare, and there Suphir [Suphie ?] Caun, Mahomeed Tushy [? Tucky = Taqī], and all the vallaines of any emynence in this cittie, charged them in the Kinges name and a great penalty that they should not bringe us any carts nor lade any of our goods; so that I perceave hee is resolved to tiranize as well abroad (wher hee hath any power) as with you; and sure I beleave wee shall have little peace here soe longe as you disagree with him there.' If they succeed in accommodating matters, he requests early intimation and a pass for them and their goods. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

JOSEPH SALBANK AND RICHARD LANCASTER AT CAMBAY TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, DECEMBER 13, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 23).

They are sorry to hear of the troubles and vexations caused by 'that serpent or dogg, Isack Beage', and fear 'there is little hoope of better usage amongst these pernitious helhounds'. 'Tapsiles' provided of white and black, some with broad and some with narrow stripes, as ordered. Of the red and white they have some in the house already, and have bespoken more. They are buying these commodities at as low rates as possible, and they give no credence to their brokers, 'for wee knowe they are men that have little faith, troth, nor honesty, and this our opinion of them that they practize nothinge more then to cozen us and gett our monny.' Details of the investment. They again request instructions for their return journey. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

[1] General letter (see the preceding document).

[2] Apparently a play upon the words *khān* and *canis*. The mediaeval travellers latinized 'Great Khāns' by 'Magni Canes'.

Richard Barber and Justinian Offley at Baroda to the Same, December 14, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 24).

They are sorry to hear of the great troubles they have passed, and thank God for their safe delivery. 'Wee perceave you have of force condece[nde]de to leave Brodera, and therefore will endeavour the best wee maye to accomplish your order by hasteninge to recover the meanes remayninge, being yet about 12,000' [mahmūdīs]. As, however, the people are poor and not able to return money, they beg a supply of 2,000 mahmūdīs for present expenses. The goods for England are ready. When the Ahmadābād caravan arrives Offley will bring down part, and Barber will follow with the rest on the coming of the caravan from Cambay. (*Copy. 1 p.*)

James Bickford, Nathaniel Halstead, William Hill, and John Clark at Ahmadābād to the Same, December 17, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 28).

Will meet the bills drawn on them from Broach, though they mus borrow to do so, as they are already in debt. Hope no more will be drawn, as, if their debts are too large 'in this tyme of troble', their goods may be stopped, as 'Suffy Caun' has threatened. 'Wee are hartyly sorry for your more then barbarous usage. Wee can but lament the missery wherin tyrany hath enthrald us all. Though only att present you feele the smart and beare the whole brunt, wee doubt ours wilbee the next when the dogg shall com up.' (*Copy. 1 p.*)

Robert Hughes and John Parker at Agra to the Same, December 18, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 47).

'Mr. Biddulphe . . . departed hence towards Surratt the 28th last month, and with him Thomas Hockoridge, who for want of transporte lefte the this yeares provision beehinde unto us to endeavour there dispeede with the first oportunitie, which wee have accordingly prosicuted and att last obtayned, notwithstandinge the difficultye and smale hoope wee had when last advised you. Soe that the 10th present wee dispeeded our caphila 15 corse from Agra on there waye to Surratt under the charge and conduct of

Signor John Younge and 50 servants more, which consisted of 194 camelles, whereon was laden all Simmany [Samāna] and Pattanna provision, as alsoe what indico &c. in Agra, save onely 24 fardels indico which wee ware constrayned to detaine here for want of our computent nomber of cammells.' They thought it better to keep back this indigo than to delay the caravan, which may after all arrive too late in Surat for dispatch of the goods this season. Rate of camel-hire. Advances to Biddulph and Young. The latter is to return from Burhānpur, and can bring up any goods that may be sent from Surat to that place. 'Few dayes after Mr. Biddulphes goeinge hence, accordinge to former consultation and advice written you, wee dispeeded Mr. Yonge[1] and John Willouhbye for Samana, there to sett a beg[in]inge in those provisions for this insuinge yeare; unto whome wee dilivered in readie monny and bills of exchange 5,500 rup[ees], and shall henceforward supplye them farther accordinge to there advise and your order for those provisions, both in the broade and narrow callicoes of those prizes.' Bills of exchange received from Burhānpur. Money advanced to the camel-men. Letters received from Ispahān by the hand of an Italian merchant, Villentin Bernadine, which they have opened and now forward. The Italian is to return in a few months and is willing to take back an answer. 'The Dutch are not yet gone hence nor can they gett cammelles to lade there goods; yet once nere posest of the halfe, but [ ] Abdell Hussen comeinge from Brampoore hath taken them and they attend others and better successe.' Directions awaited from Surat for provision of goods. 'Wee here little newes from the lesker, the Kinge beinge at or beyonde Hardowa [Hardwār] on his way for Cabull. Yet wee expect shortly to here of our Sindymen, who are ther in exclamation against us for there right, and wee have our answare readie you last inordered, which is all they are like to have (unlesse perforce) untill your further advise. Yet consideration ought to bee taken herein for the setting a period to soe brangling a busines; but herein wee referr you to Mr. Biddulphe, whoe can best informe you of there demaunds to us and our nations disgrace. Some of the Ballochs are here in prison whoe underwrot to carry the last yeares caphila to Mando, and wee hope

[1] Robert Young.

to gett some of our monnyes they receaved in retorne before they gett loosse, if we can find no more then justice.' (*Copy.* 3 *pp.*)

William Martin, George Pike, and John Glanvill at Broach to the Same, December 19, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 27).

Acknowledge the receipt of 20,000 mahmūdīs. Seventy returned as 'not passable'. Request instructions as to the purchase of Yāqūb Beg's dutty and 'champaree', of which musters were forwarded yesterday. Himmat Khān is pressing for payment for his indigo, but they have put him off on the plea that it has not been all delivered. He is with Rustam Khān, who is yet to stay two or three days, 'which doth hinder the whitinge of our cloth, his lasker beinge ther where our washers doth use to wyte it.' Their provision of baftas goes on apace. They are retaining John George and Richard Brown, according to order, in the expectation of some employment for them. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

James Bickford, Nathaniel Halstead, William Hill, and John Clark at Ahmadābād to the Same, December 20, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 30).

'Yours of the 10th currant wee receaved the 18th, togither with the copy of your consulltation, wherby wee now fully understand the many misseryes and extreame exegents you have been plungd into since the departure of our fleete through the more then barbarous tirannie and salvage dealinge of these viprous, dessemblinge, and crockadillike curra, whose [ ] over you wee may and doe lament but cannot amend.' They trust that by the divine assistance they may be set free from the hands of 'these monsters' and duly requite them for 'soe many unsufferable wrongs and disgraces'. 'Wee perceave the dogg of Decan is of the same faithlesse faith these fyrebrands are, and his coule [*see* p. 274 *n.*] of as much value as this Kinges firmaunes that hee gives when hee is drunck and denyes when hee is sober. Thers noe reamidie but patience (perforce) for a while. Wee should all in this case remember the French poesie *Mon heur vindra.* You know when tyme and oppertunity meete what you have to doe in this as well as in the other, and therefore leave itt to your wanted cares to effect as you in your better knowledge shall see cause.' They are glad Jeffries returned in

time to proceed to Persia as Agent; and they wish Kerridge a happy passage to England with the two ships under his command. Money supplied to Cambay and Broach, with the result that they are in debt themselves. Safī Khān has forbidden the lading of their goods; and even if they obtain his permission to leave, their creditors will probably stop them. 'The Dutch with all their goods haveinge quited Cambaya are com againe to Serquese, where they beginn againe to buy indico newe and old att about rupp[ees] 9½ or 9¼ per m[aun]d. Ninety m[aun]ds they bought after there arrivall the next daye and are nowe very busie in bespeakinge square basketts after our fashon. They professe to have but 1,000 rup[ees] more to bestowe, but they have soe offten faild of ther promise as wee dare give noe creditt to there words, and wee are verily perswaded that though they buy not much nowe they intend a very speedie retorne hither againe, and if they have any meanes they are likely to sweepe the markett cleare before them except this factory bee supplyed in tyme, whereof you may please seriously to consider.' They trust the Company will not be angry with them 'for not translatinge the round fardels into square', owing to their want both of time and space, 'our yeards beinge soe full of lynens and fardels that ther is hardly rome for our coach to stand in it, and the fardels bee piled up one upon another five or six highe.' Orders given for the purchase of 'seryas' at Dholka. 'You know the Dutch are politique and divellishly subtle, this plott suspitious and dangerous to us, if they gett out of the country with all there men and goods, which is very likely they intend, not haveinge anythinge upp in the country, and Walter Huton [*see* p. 219 *n.*] uppon the way from Agra towards Surratt. Mr. Rastell knowes well att his goeinge upp hee intended not to retorne soe soone. What to think of it wee knowe not, but referr it to your accostomed vigilent care to looke into and prevent with what secresie you may without suspition, to avoyd our owne ruyne. All that wee can say of these here is that theie entend very speedily to bee with you in Surratt with all there goods and two horses which Pollsbrooke is buyinge here to carry with there goods to the southwards to Coune [Coen] their Generall, but tis to bee doubted Vanderbrook will have one of them for his owne sadle, though not in this country; which it behoves you to have [an] eye into, least haveinge put soe many

trickes uppon us to the southwards the[y] now finish it with the catastrophie in this place and gull us worse nowe then heretofore.' *P.S.* (*Dec.* 21).—'Haveinge detained both our letter and your messenger till wee might speek with Saffi Caun about ladinge our goods, &c., wee are now ymedyately retorned from him, whose answare unto our request to lade our goods was that our people had taken 23,000 larees of his and that hee would have ten for one before it went hence; but this was to use some speeches which it seemes have been spooken by some of our nation either in Surratt or elcewhere. The conclusion of his reply and absolute answare was wee should not carry, lade, or transport one fardle out of the towne till hee were satisfied [for?] his larres. To this missery hath tirannie inthrald us all and slaveishly caused us to stoope to the demaund of even base infidells. You see what is to bee donn if you intend any goods hence; and what you resolve to doe must bee don speedily, for avoydinge the losse of too much tyme. And soe, beinge loth to detayne you longer, wee rest as before. Hee sayes heele stopp the goods in Cambaya alsoe.' (*Copy.* 4 *pp.*)

William Methwold and Francis Futter at Masulipatam to the Same, December 20, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 70).

Forward a letter from Batavia ('for soe is Jacatry now cauled'), which arrived on the 9th in the *Golden Lion*. This ship went from Holland to Batavia in four months and ten days, 'a strange and therefore admired expedition.' Trust to hear from Surat before long. 'The shippe bringe[s] to this employment a new Governor, named Abraham Van Uffele[1], to succede the other, whose tyme is expired; and for comoditie onely some fewe cloves and about 6,000 (?) ryalls.' (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

Richard Barber and Justinian Offley at Baroda to the Same, December 21, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 29).

'Yesterday last came herether [*sic*] an addye [*see* p. 111] sent from Isack Beage, who brought two perwans, one (as hee saith) from

[1] According to Valentyn, Abraham van Uffelen succeeded Andries Souri at Masulipatam in 1622, and remained chief till 1624.

Rustom Coun and the other from Isack Beage, and haveinge delivered them to Mahomood Hassen [Mahmūd Hassan], at present Governors Deputie of this place, hee forthwith called for us and lade open the manners of his received directions, and in freindly manner willed us to surrcease further buyinge; whereuppon wee demanded how wee should recover our meanes remaininge in the workemens hands, beeinge to value of 10,000 m[ahmūdīs]. His reply was: if monnyes may bee retorned, use your best meanes for retorninge thereof; if not, dispeede your servant forthwith for the procuringe Isack Beages scrite [*see* p. 4*n*.], that soe you maye recover your goods; till when I wish you forbeare your accostomed marketts.' They accordingly send the present note, and trust permission will be obtained for them to finish their business. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

James Bickford, William Hill, and John Clark at Ahmadābād to the Same, December 24, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 37).

'These onely serve by an ordinary pattamar[1] to advise you what in our last of the 20th and posscript of the 21th currant wee touched, in the pointe of ladeinge our goods, which will not bee permitted without restitucion of the 23,000 larrees demaunded by Suffy Caun, who is still the same man, and to shew the uttermost of his spleen hath for the same cause stopt all the Hollanders goods in Serquese, being all laden and readie to departe the towne, with there pions [*see* p. 145] and all other thinges necessary provided for ther journy, which makes them frett like gumd taffitta[2]; soe that if this day they gett not licence to departe they are resolved to unlade there cartes againe and to save a needles charge, and to discharg both them and there other retenue till wee have licence to lade, which now wee thincke will not bee till all our goods bee readie; soe that wee shall make but one caphila of it all, which wilbee the greatest that ever went out of Amadavaz appertaineing to marchants. You plainly see wherunto wee are

[1] Foot-post, courier.

[2] Cf. 'I have remov'd Falstaff's horse, and he frets like a gumm'd velvet' (*Henry IV* (*First Part*), ii. 2).

driven and to what inconvenienceis wee must stoop if you will have any goods hence this yeare. If wee must needes right ourselves abroade, 23,000 larrees wilbee as well paid as the greater extorted somes; which wee refer to your consideration, and intreate your resolution may bee speedily made knowne unto us. The departure of the Dutch out of this country is very suspitious, they makinge many brave threats to bee revenged on these doggs for wrongs receaved with double gaine, some of them by circumstance speakinge very dowtfully of there residence or departure.' Mr. Halstead is at Sarkhej. (*Copy*. 1 *p*.)

WILLIAM MARTIN, GEORGE PIKE, AND JOHN GLANVILL AT BROACH TO THE SAME, DECEMBER 26, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 34).

Yāqūb Beg has now decided not to sell his calicoes. Request a present for him, 'that wee may continue in his favour.' For his indigo he wishes to be paid in gold; so some 'abraims[1]' should be sent, which are valued here at mahmūdīs 8¼ (?) and two pices. Would be glad of a further supply of money, as the markets are at present 'reasonable good'. (*Copy*. ¾ *p*.)

JOSEPH SALBANK AT CAMBAY TO THE SAME, DECEMBER 26, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 35).

'Yours of the 18th currant wee have receaved, and understandinge thereby your peace and quietnesse with Isack Beage, which wee perceave you knowe the cause to proceede more in regard of there owne good then any affection towardes us; yet, seeinge noe reamedie, wee pray God continue itt. For the departure of the Dutch out off these parts, lett us looke to ourselfs as well as wee may, for our opinion is they will never doe us any good, but, as they have abused us in the southwarde partes, soe will they the like here, if possible they can.' The 'tapsiles' and 'coria chawders' [*see* p. 64] are promised within four days. 'Burrols' [*see* p. 62] and 'sahanes' (?) are not to be had, and they cannot substitute other goods until they receive some money, being at present in debt to the extent of Rs. 6,000 at least. If a supply

[1] A Turkish gold coin (Ibrāhīmī). Fryer (1677) mentions that in Persia the 'abrahmee' was worth twenty-seven or twenty-nine shāhīs (9*s*. or 9*s*. 8*d*.).

can be sent, they would increase their stock of 'kannikies' [*see* p. 95 *n.*], 'alladgies,' 'mentasses,' 'corie chawders' (?), and 'champall chawders'. Their creditors are pressing them for money, and will probably prevent their goods leaving the town until payment is made. Bills for Rs. 2,500 received from Ahmadābād, made payable to Lancaster only, on the ground that the 'shrofes' in Cambay will have nothing to do with Salbank. This the 'shrofes' deny. Salbank complains of Bickford's conduct towards him in this and other matters, and declares that henceforth he 'will never writ one sillable to him, nor have any thinge to doe with him, more then the tyme of the day'. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

RICHARD BARBER AND JUSTINIAN OFFLEY AT BARODA TO THE SAME, DECEMBER 28, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 36).

Return Is-hāq Beg's 'scrite', finding, on its being perused by both 'Trikumdas [Trikamdās] and another molla[1]', that it is 'rather against us then with us'. It authorizes them to recover their goods from the washers and beaters, whereas they are really in the hands of the weavers; and it makes no mention of their keeping their markets. A new order should be obtained if possible. A bill of exchange for 2,000 mahmūdīs received. *P.S.*—The new 'scrite' should mention that the debtors are 'Katteries[2] and Tags[3], which they wee calle weavers there worke one broads and the other one narrows'. It should also be addressed to 'Mahomood Hassen', and not to the brokers, 'which dayly seeke to hinder us.' (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

JOSEPH SALBANK AND RICHARD LANCASTER AT CAMBAY TO THE SAME, DECEMBER 29, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 38).

'This present morninge, beinge the 29th currant, Agga Sallow [Āghā Sālih], Governor of Cambaya, sent for us to com before

[1] 'The Mahometan priests are called Moolaas.... These Moolaas ... employ much of their time as scriveners, to do business for others; or to teach their young children' (Terry's *Voyage to East India*, ed. 1777, p. 247).

[2] The caste of *Khatrīs* or weavers is still fairly strong in Surat and Ahmadābād (see *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. ix. pt. 1, p. 188).

[3] Gujarātī *Tagias*, a weaver caste doing better class work.

him, who when wee came gave us the tyme of the day according to custom. Compliments beinge past from the one to the other, hee cirtified us that order was given from Saffe Caun of Amadavaz (one that married Assaff Cauns daughter) to demaund of us 6,000 larres belonginge to him, which (as they report) was taken by us goeinge to Ormose, and therefore hee is to stopp our goods untill such tyme as the said monny shalbee paid. Our answere was thus: wee were verely perswaded that noe wronge on our part should bee offred to any of this Kinges subjects in the least degree, and as wee had noe knowledge in these proceedings, soe of ourselves, without order from the principall att Suratt, wee could advise of noethinge. Soe that, in conclusion, wee promised him it should bee certified to you, and as you directed us soe would wee effect; otherwise of ourselves wee have noe power to entermeddle in these affaires.' He promised not to hinder their departure, but they fear he will. Instructions requested, and also a supply of money to pay their debts and expenses. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

James Bickford, William Hill, and John Clark at Ahmadābād to the Same, December 29, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 42).

Thank them for their gift of two bottles of sack and one of beer. As regards the packing of indigo, they will do what they can to give Surat and the Company satisfaction. Have reserved about 1,200 maunds of the next year's investment, to be made up into even fardles of six and seven maunds apiece, 'the one sort cleare without sand, the other with just ten seares in a peece.' 'The nomber of m[aun]ds provided in this place should amount to maunds 11,420 : 19 seares, and cost ruppies 106,398 : 29 pi[ce] net; wherof there ought to have beene m[aun]ds 3,753 : 13 ser contayned in 899 round churles to contain m[aun]ds 4 : 7 seare; all the rest is made up in square and longe round basketts, some with sand and uncertaine waight.' Safī Khān has not yet given them permission to lade their goods and is not likely to do so until he has been satisfied. The stoppage has been of advantage in one respect, 'for one the 27th present from three of the clock in the afternoone till the next day, and parte of it alsoe, there fell (in a

sad and sollid shewer without intermission) soe much unexpected rayne, as in all the pastt time of the raynes there fell not soe much'; but the indigo, being under cover in their warehouse, was untouched. Their linens were in great danger, as they were in the yards. However, with the help of skins, 'cittringes[1],' &c., they saved most of them from harm. Had the goods been already on the way, they could not so well have been 'defended from the rage of the rayne', nor could the damage have been so easily made good. 'In our last wee advised you the stoppage off the Dutches goods likewise by Saffy Caun, which causeth but our more trouble by the emportunity of the Dutch to gett cleared againe, beinge stayed for our cause. Three dayes togeather they had our brokers (which wee could ill spare) to free them, but could not, Saffy Caun sayinge wee were all one, and would not bee otherwise perswaded till I had accknowledged both the contrary and that not they but wee had taken the shipp with his larres under our handes; the which with good reason because I did refuse (not haveinge the certaine knowledge of any such thinge from you, or if I had, would not have accknowledged any such thinge to them), the Dutch cheif here was somewhat moved, and out of the basenesse of there inbred condition cast mee in teeth with curtesies they had done our President &c. in Surratt in tyme of there freedom and your trowble, keepeinge you in there howse and giveinge you meate and drinck when you were not permitted to buy any for yourselves, forgettinge to mention that ever you lent them 1,000 ryalls to buye them meate when they knewe not where else to have it, nor soe much as once takeinge notice that here in Mr. Brownes tyme Walter Heuten twice with his retinue had both there meate, drincke, and lodginge for himselfe and six Dutch more for a month togeather, besides 1,000 rup[ee]s lent him with powder, shott, and match for his journy downe, which with a muskett lent him for Agra was never yet retorned. But these thinges with many more cannot bee remembred, such base ungratfull slaves they bee, whoe in plaine wordes tould us they must advise to there masters of our discurtisie, yet with many intreaties praied us to assist them; which in conclusion (though I had much other busines) I resolved to doe by goeinge to Saffy Caun myselfe and uppon good consideration to acknowledge rather

[1] Hind. *shitranji*, a coarse carpet of striped cotton.

by word of mouth then by writtinge that wee were two nations, and that wee did our busines apart each from the other, one not being lyable to answare any thinge what the other did; which I conceave will bee some thinge to reply to these people if hereafter they should (as they pretend) take any of there shipps of this country and make us undergoe there troble and satisfacyon; but wee hoope you will prevent both by usinge some privat meanes for there stoppinge in this country till wee bee readie to put our designes in practice; which must bee keept betwene a fewe of you with as much secresie as maye bee, for I am much mistaken if some wordes have not been covertly spooken to mee here by them, which concerninge them and our captived shipps I have written hence to you. But to conclude this point, my goeinge to Saffy Caun presently cleared both them and there goods, though it were not of force to gett licence for our owne, which must attend your further enlargment by release of those larres taken in the Portingall vessell, soe unjustly demanded by uncertaine owners, though for the present to powerfull claymers for satisfaction. Haveinge more then Bayard in the stable to seccure them, they laugh at our detention of such triffles, when in there powers there remaines quantities of goods which they knowe wee maye not want to lade this yeare.'[1] The Dutch probably suffered from the rain on the way to Surat. The messenger can inform them 'what troble wee had to safegard our goods, which wee did by fillinge all our lower lodgeinges, besides our warehowse roome, dyninge roome, and wyne howse, with all other drye places in our howse with fardels linens, our stable and all other places beinge full beefore'. Think that if the other factories can lade the *London*, Ahmadābād, with the pepper to be bought at Surat, can fill another ship. Money wanted. Request early advice should more indigo be required. (*Copy.* 3¼ *pp.*)

GEORGE PIKE AND JOHN GLANVILL AT BROACH TO THE SAME, DECEMBER 31, 1621 (*Ibid.*, vol. cii. p. 39).

Acknowledge the receipt of their letter and of the present for Rustam Khān. He left a few days ago; so Martin, two other Englishmen, and a broker have gone after him to Baroda. The

[1] i. e. 'we cannot do without, if we are to lade this year'.

letter to 'our Governor, Hamutt Caun', is also received, but they await the return of their broker before presenting it, as they have a fresh grievance which on presentation of the letter they may induce him to remedy, 'for this present day hee hath prohibited all the brokers in towne to buye any corse narrowes till his new intended provision of ten or twelve thousand m[ahmūdīs] bee fully accomplished.' Accounts forwarded. The remainder of Himmat Khān's indigo has arrived from Baroda, and will be examined on Martin's return. (*Copy*. 1 *p*.)

INDEX

Abbot, Morris, 185.
Abdala Hasan, Khwāja, 270, 274, 281, 282, 318–20, 346.
Abdala, Mīrzā, 97.
Abdul Rahīm, Mīrzā. *See* Khānkhānān, the.
Abraim. *See* Ibrāhīmī.
Abyssinia, trade with, 56, 60.
Achin, 156, 248 *n.*, 265, 284; letter from, 24; letter to, 64; goods and money for, 27, 58, 65, 66, 81, 94, 100, 116, 126, 130, 184, 240, 251, 299, 307, 341; affairs at, 56, 77, 115, 156, 201, 233, 255, 329 *n.*; Dutch at, 49, 266, 324, 328; French at, 254 *n.*, 255, 324; the King of, 58, 63, 64, 66.
Adams, Robert, 24.
Aden, 35, 56.
Adie, John, 186.
Ādil Shāh. *See* Bījāpur, King of.
Adowya, 129, 182, 344.
Advice, the, 156, 157.
Afzal Khān, 36, 112, 267, 340; negotiations with, 39, 108, 175, 273, 274, 281, 283, 292, 293, 303, 319–21, 330, 332; petitions to, 131, 146, 147; notice of, 36 *n.*; ship of, 131.
Agate beads, 52, 178; cups, 52; pictures, 327.
Aglia. *See* Lignum aloes.
Agra, letters from, 46, 160, 257, 260, 266, 335, 345; letters to, 37, 84, 91, 97, 102, 103, 107, 111, 117, 118, 121, 123, 126, 130, 145, 149, 154, 181, 191, 198, 199 (2), 217 (2), 236, 246, 253, 256 (2), 268, 270, 283; English factory at (*see also* Biddulph, Hughes, Fettiplace, Parker, &c.), 6, 52; goods provided at, 51, 58, 73, 76, 85, 86, 93, 102, 162, 168, 178, 182, 194, 235, 253; Dutch at, xxxvii, 38, 46, 193 *n.*, 218, 219, 243 *n.*, 257, 340 (2), 346, 348; caravans from, captured, *see* Young, John, *and* Malik Ambar; plague at, 47, 82; Jahāngīr goes to, 79, 80 *n.*, 162, 174, 268; leaves for Kashmīr, 108, 164, 174, 177; returns, 261; starts again, 268, 330, 331, 336, 337, 346.
Ahadīs, 111, 188, 349.
Ahmadābād, letters from, 2 (2), 7, 18, 20, 23, 190, 281, 282, 291, 301, 306, 308, 309, 314, 318, 329, 334 (2), 339, 345, 347, 350, 353; letters to, 50, 75, 85, 91, 100, 105, 109, 113, 114, 117, 119, 121, 123, 125, 129, 130, 133, 148, 155, 166, 179, 182, 189; the English factors at (*see also* Browne, Rastell, Bickford, &c.), 6, 52, 190, 234, 250, 252; their house, 348, 354, 355; and cattle, 102; goods provided at, 76, 92–4, 101, 178, 235; Dutch at, xxxvii, 200 *n.*, 308, 311, 314, 329, 354; mint at, 8, 314, 330; dyes used at, 85; paper from, 7 *n.*, 76, 142; Governor of, 230, 306.
Ajmer, 261, 268.
Alamganj (Patna), 246.
Aldea, 86.
Aldsworth, Thomas, 315.
Aldworth, Thomas, estate of, 7.
Alexandria, letters sent by way of, 82, 83.
Alī, Shaikh, 286.
Alicant wine, 54, 99, 106.
Allāh Bakhsh, Shaikh, 246.
Allahābād, 246.
Allejas, 63, 64, 93, 197 *n.*, 352.
Aloes, 60, 66, 142.
Alum, 208.
Amal, 236, 248.
Ambar, Malik. *See* Malik Ambar.
Ambar, Sīdī, 297.
Amber, sale of, 106, 109, 184, 274, 302, 322; beads, 54, 189, 246, 258, 259, 326.
Ambergris, 58.
Amberty calicoes, 46, 73, 74, 86, 102, 178, 198, 200, 204, 214, 234, 260, 270, 327; cloth described, 161; origin of name, 161 *n.*; quilts of, 84; method of buying at Lukhawur, 192; bleaching of, 192, 193, 195, 197, 205; dyed, 162, 178; place of origin, 182, 197, 202, 213; price of, 197, 213; not suitable for England, 85.
Ambo. *See* Mangoes.
Amentoes, 178.
Am-Kas, the, 4.
Anacke dragons, 266.
Āndhī, 247.
Andrew, the, 225, 248 *n.*, 286, 288, 289, 301, 318 (2), 323, 324; captures Malik Ambar's junk, 272, 286 *n.*, 324.
Ankleswar, tolls exacted at, 113, 238, 300, 308, 331; butter from, 121; note on, 113 *n.*

Annas, 194, 204.
Anne, Queen, 241; death of, 110, 115.
Anne, the, 31; goes to Mokha, xiii, 2–6, 17–19, 27 (2), 28, 32, 33, 50, 59, 79; returns to England, 28, 60, 61, 68, 77, 78, 81, 140; sunk near Gravesend, 216; goes to Bantam, 216 *n.*, 271 *n.*; sent to the Malabar Coast, 276, 329.
Antheunis, Lucas, 42–44, 52.
Arab, Khwāja, landlord of English house at Surat, 36, 37, 150 (2).
Arabia, visit of Blyth's fleet to, 284–9.
Arakan, 14.
Armenians, 90, 91, 100, 102, 170, 171, 306.
Armour, not wanted, 164, 174.
Arrack. *See* Rack.
Arras, 18, 54.
Arterra, 85.
Arthiyā, 85 *n.*
Arz-dāsht, 107, 109.
Arzī, 97, 273.
Asab, 57.
Āsaf Khān, 4 *n.*, 108; Roe and, 9, 11, 38; purchases goods, 21, 123, 154, 160, 335; and pearls, 9, 20, 131, 155, 158; befriends the English, vii, xix, xxxiii, 174–6, 260, 261, 267, 335, 336; and the Dutch, 219; petitions to, 146, 175; his daughter married to Safī Khān, 353; his ship, 2, 4.
Asām, 51, 112 (2).
Asīrgarh, 211 (2), 211 *n.*
Astālu Island, 45.
Attendant, the, 48 *n.*
Aughmull surraye, 199.
Aurangābād, 317 *n.*
Avania, 12, 324.
Avaus, Mountains of, 210, 218, 231 (2); note on, 210 *n.*

Bābāghūrī, 52.
Bacalow, 333 *n.*
Baccanor, 203, 215.
Bachcha betī-chod, 146.
Badgeas, 93.
Badore, tolls at, 88, 89.
Bael fruit, 10, 76.
Baffin, William, xiii; master of the *London*, 204, 225; signs a letter to the Company, 227; signs a letter to Surat, 314; notice of, 204 *n.*
Baftas, purchase of, *passim*; made into canekeens, 96, 142; suitable for England, 85; breadth of, 52, 75, 294; prices of, 61–4, 109; dyed, 62, 178, 235, 250, 301, 307; inferior to amberties, 236; increased quantities required for England, 127, 130.
Bāglān, 74 *n.*
Bahādur, a pilot, 2.
Bahādur Shāh, of Gujarāt, 12.
Baikanthpur, 197 *n.*
Bail-wān, 179.
Bairams, 93, 118, 281; white, 63, 94, 100; dyed, 63, 64, 94, 95, 100, 269; prices of, 63, 64.
Baize, 78.
Bālāghāt, 289.
Bales, rules for marking, 93, 102, 329; the Company's bale-mark, 340.
Ball, Alexander, 276.
Ball, George, x; letter from, 110; letters to, 24, 43, 114, 116; arrives in India, 110 *n.*, 152; goes to Batavia, 196, 208, 254; his intentions suspected, 185; praised, 210.
Balūchīs, 84 (2), 96, 97 (3), 102; imprisoned, 346; recovery of moneys from, 347.
Bamboo mats, 251.
Bampa, servant of William Methwold, 217.
Banda Islands, the, 49, 277, 299, 303, 324.
Band-i-mudat, 236, 247.
Bandoleers, 31.
Banduqdār, 74.
Bangham, John, 6, 191, 216; letters from, 74, 190; letters to, 37, 88, 90, 96, 97, 122 (2), 188 (2), 189, 214; sent from Agra to Surat, 73, 85, 88 (2), 102, 112, 122, 161, 170, 173; dispatched again to Agra, 188, 191; goes to Lahore, 212, 214; returns to Agra, 214; and then proceeds to Surat, 214, 231; private trade of, 189; wages of, 186, 216, 328.
Bangham, Nicholas, 16, 37, 112; returns to England, 7, 24; recoveries to be made from, 185; claim of Soares against, 78, 89, 90, 92, 101, 118, 170–3, 327, 335; arrives in India, 271, 302; letters to Surat, 271, 279, 330 (2), 340; sent up to Court, 327, 330, 331; orders cancelled, 331.
Banks, John, 222.
Bannupanos, Ilho dos, 45.
Bantam, references to, *passim*; letter from, 1; letters to, 24, 43, 55, 65; goods and money for, 27, 62, 92, 93, 100, 126; wheat sent to, 58, 63, 184; factors blamed, 52, 56; news from, 49, 86, 303; Chinese junks seized at, 152, 156; French at, 324; Pangeran of, 276.
Banyans, *passim*; note on, 80 *n.*
Baptista, John, 291, 314 (2).
Barāt, 201, 322.
Barāward, 198, 247.
Barbary, 162, 169, 206, 209.
Barbast, 248, 268.
Barber, Richard, letters from, 107, 108, 279, 291, 308, 338, 345, 349, 352; goes

to Mokha, 35 (2); sent to Baroda, 189; desires to return to England, 234.
Barges, 338.
Barker, Thomas, agent in Persia, xxvi, 2, 45, 143 (2); letter to, 140; death of, xxviii, 216.
Barkūr, 203, 215.
Barnardi, Philip, 17.
Baroda, letters from, 279, 291, 308, 338, 345, 349, 352; letters to, 94, 95 (2), 96–98; goods to be provided at, 93, 235; Hutchinson sent to, 75, 87; trade stopped, 89, 92, 93, 95, 100, 101, 105, 106, 135, 138; attempts to buy through brokers, 98, 107, 110, 113; and to obtain fresh leave to trade, 109, 127, 135; recovery of money, 117; Barber sent to, 189; funds at, 235; Offley appointed to, 252; the factors forced to leave, 345, 350; Governor of, 92, 94, 95 (2), 96, 98, 99 (2), 100, 189, 308, 309.
Barroch. *See* Broach.
Barwick, Thomas, 110, 157; notice of, 110 *n.*
Bassein, ship built at, 83.
Basta, 310.
Batacala. *See* Bhatkal.
Batavia, references to, *passim*; founding of, xliii; letters from, 196, 232, 290, 329, 341, 349; letter to, 248; affairs at, 234; goods, &c., for, 208, 251, 264, 341; Council of Defence at, 275; agreement regarding Pulicat, 253.
Bayard, 355.
Beabadis, from Cambay, 93.
Beads, 78, 184. *See also* Coral, Agate, Crystal, &c.
Bear, the (Dutch ship), 165.
Bear, the (English ship), 110 *n.*; captured by the Dutch, 167; restitution offered, 277.
Beaulieu, General, 254 *n.*, 255 *n.*
Bee, the, sent to Persia, 25, 30, 31; and to Masulipatam and Bantam, 27, 41–3, 51, 52, 86, 156; master of, *see* Hatch, John, *and* Newell, Richard.
Begum Shāhī, the, 127.
Behar, 195, 206.
Bell, William, 7, 45.
Bells, used for barter, 68.
Bellwan, 179.
Bemimas, 62.
Benares, 199, 206.
Bengal, attempts to open up trade with, 116; Roe and, xxiii, 14, 50 *n.*; trade between Masulipatam and, 50, 264; silk from, xxiii, 46, 52, 58, 77, 112, 116, 127, 153, 155, 161, 193, 197, 205, 212, 235, 250, 253, 260, 264, 327; *tasar* and grass-cloth from, 112, 197; sahans from, 197; stuffs from, 178, 303; quilts from, 84, 103, 195, 198, 206, 235; carpets from, 254 *n.*; Portuguese in, 14, 195, 197, 213, 214.
Benjamin. *See* Benzoin.
Bennett, Walter, 276.
Benthall, John, 143.
Benzoin, 58, 62, 66.
Berbera, 56.
Berenga, 1.
Beriewe. *See* Variao.
Bernadine, Villentin, 346.
Best, Captain Thomas, 78, 180, 221 *n.*, 271 *n.*
Betel, 66, 317.
Beteles (piece-goods), 42.
Beversham, James, 271.
Bezoar stones, 57, 208, 255, 266.
Bhadwar, 88 *n.*
Bhatkal, 56 *n.*, 66, 68, 70, 77, 81, 252.
Biāna indigo, 59, 61, 116, 184, 323.
Bible, given to a native skipper, 69.
Bickford, James, 28, 32, 190, 300, 307, 332, 352; letters from, 278, 281, 282, 291, 301, 306, 308, 310, 318, 329, 334 (2), 339, 343–5, 347, 350, 353; appointed accountant at Ahmadābād, 179; becomes chief there, 234; to return to England, 278, 328.
Bickley, Captain John, 125, 129, 132, 133, 186, 328; arrives at Swally, 124, 125, 127, 128 (2), 136, 141; his account of the voyage, 124; letter from, 232; letters to, 124, 125, 128 (3), 129, 132, 179–81; his expedition to Jask, 127, 131, 133, 136, 143–5, 148, 179–81; his visit to Dābhol, 232.
Bicuntpoore, 197.
Biddulph, William, 96, 99 (2), 104, 111, 123, 219, 269, 270; letters from, 20, 78, 167, 257, 260, 266, 335; letters to, 88, 94, 103, 107, 111, 121, 123, 126, 130, 145, 149, 154, 160, 181; appointed agent at Court, 6, 59; detained at Surat, 79; goes to Agra, 85, 88, 90, 162, 169; his negotiations at Burhānpur for the release of the caravan, 89, 91, 92, 100–3, 170; and at Court, 106–8, 112, 117, 118, 121, 135, 147, 261; follows the King, 164, 173, 174; recovers some debts, 173, 182, 326; desires to return to England, 169, 207, 234, 251, 328; leaves for Surat, 337, 345; advance to, 346; notice of, 20 *n.*
Bījāpur, 78, 97, 102, 265; King of, 54, 78 *n.*, 190; intrigues against Malik Ambar, 317; Jahāngīr demands tribute, &c., from, 332.
Bimee, 93.

Birams. *See* Bairams.
Biscuits, made at Broach, 121.
Bisheshar, 236.
Blachioes, 24.
Black Bear, the (Dutch ship), 41.
Black Lion, the (Dutch ship), captured and burnt, xl, 156, 159, 278.
'Blekidge,' 141.
Blok, Adriaan Maartenssen, 202.
Bloodstones, 10, 52, 58, 61, 75, 271.
Blundstone, William, 140; letter from, 314; notice of, 314 *n.*
Blyth, Captain Richard, letters from, 227, 310, 311, 314, 338; succeeds Captain Shilling, 225, 229; his fleet goes to Arabia, 243, 244, 246, 248 *n.*, 284-9; returns to Surat, 273; to proceed to Jask, 310; his position with regard to Captain Weddell, 313.
Bodman, Owen, 156.
Bohemia, King and Queen of, 216.
Bonelace, 21, 54, 78, 164.
Bonner, Captain Robert, arrives at Surat, 51, 78; his voyage, 53; letter from, 67; letter to, 50; goods brought by, 54, 134, 162; sails for Bantam, 62, 65, 68; calls at Dābhol, 69, 183, 232; at Bhatkal, 70; at Calicut, 65, 71-73, 76, 156; and at Achin, 156; his death, xlii, 73.
Boralho, João, 220, 222.
Boralls. *See* Brawls.
Borax, 12, 51.
Bowers, Peter, 157.
Brampore. *See* Burhānpur.
Brass, 208, 262.
Brawls, 62, 93, 351.
Brinjaon, 1 *n.*, 73, 86.
Broach, letters to and from, and references to, *passim*; importance of, 1; English factory organized, 7; surgeon sent to, 104; Offley joins, 234; English house next to a mosque, 280; repairs to, 85; goods provided at, 66, 75, 76, 87 (4), 93, 94, 101, 127, 179, 235; trade restrictions at, 89, 92, 93, 95, 101, 135, 159; bleaching of calicoes at, 113, 168, 347; dyes used at, 85; provisions bought at, 119-21, 123; customs at, 88, 188; Dutch factory at, 200 *n.*; Governor of, *see* Himmat Khān *and* Muhammad Yār; Vice-Governor of, 226 (*see also* Yāqūb Beg); Customer of, 133 (2).
Broadcloth, *passim*; best colours of, 78.
Brockedon, Thomas, 249, 254, 276; letters from, 196, 290, 329.
Brodera. *See* Baroda.
Brooks, Christopher, 23.
Brown, Richard, 347.
Browne, Christopher, appointed master of the *Roebuck*, 225; letters from, 227, 310.
Browne, Edward, 222.
Browne, John, Chief at Ahmadābād, 125, 132; letter from, 7; letters to, 50, 129, 130, 133, 148, 155, 166, 179, 182; Roe's opinion of, 16; charges against, 8; to succeed as President, 111; his illness and death, 179, 190 (2), 207, 251; his will and estate, 190, 251; his grave, 309; notice of, v.
Buckar, 63, 64, 93, 179, 294, 307.
Bulgaria hides. *See* Hides, Muscovy.
Bull, the, 12, 21, 24, 27, 32, 33, 86, 137 (2), 138, 160, 169, 296 *n.*
Bullion, sent instead of rials, 8, 79, 168, 184.
Burhānpur, letters from, 37, 269, 270, 273, 280, 282, 292, 293, 302, 303, 307, 318, 330 (2), 340 (2); letters to, 88, 90, 94, 96, 97, 104, 107, 112, 114, 117, 119, 122 (2); factory dissolved, 6, 16, 52; factors again sent to, 37, 99, 101, 189, 190, 249; withdrawal debated, 234; English house at, 330, 333; goods provided at, 76, 100, 107, 114, 118, 127, 141; calicoes dyed at, 94 (2); funds available at, 235; cost of carriage, 51; caravan detained, *see* Biddulph *and* Soares; besieged by Malik Ambar's forces, 207, 210; relieved by Shāh Jahān, 210 *n.*; Mansūr Khān arrives at, 217; 'a leskar of Decanns,' 332.
Butt (steel), 76, 88, 94.
Butter, 121, 123, 266; packing of, 334.
Byrams. *See* Bairams.

Cabaly, 312.
Cadias, 62, 92.
Caharr. See *Kahār*.
Cainegoulons (piece-goods), 43, 266.
Cairo, 207; letters sent by way of, 59, 83, 287.
Calicoes, the Company want more, 46, 75, 115, 116, 127, 137.
Calicut, Pepwell's fleet visits, 1; Bonner at, 65, 71-3, 76, 156; no further attempt to be made to trade at, 55, 76; Samorin of, 20, 55, 58, 71, 76, 276, 290.
Callian Shagger. *See* Kalyān Shāgird.
Calvert, Mr. Secretary, 219 *n.*
Cambay, 1; letters from, 293, 306, 307, 309, 312, 313, 329, 339, 344, 351, 352; letter to, 50; Duke and Bickford sent to, 28; Heynes at, 50; factory made independent of Ahmadābād, 234; Halstead made chief at, 234; Lancaster sent to, 278; Salbank proceeds to, 309 (2), 311; goods provided at, 52, 75, 93, 94, 102, 105, 178, 282, 293, 301; cost of

carriage, 51; tolls at, 51; proposed dispatch of goods by water from, 119; rate of exchange, 330; Safī Khān threatens to stop goods at, 349; Dutch at, 200 *n.*, 348; Portuguese trade with, 11, 31, 55; Governor of, 312, 352.
Camcanees, 192 *n.*, 195, 206; term explained, 195 *n.*
Camels, 73, 74, 283, 322, 336, 340, 346 (2); a camel's load, 74.
Camlets, 18, 54, 78, 122, 164.
Camphor, 86, 142.
Camsukes, 200, 205.
Candahar, 333.
Candy, equivalent of, at Bhatkal, 70; at Petapoli, 262, 304; at Ponānī, 71.
Canekeens, 63, 64, 94, 95, 109 (2), 307, 310, 352; baftas made into, 96, 142; term explained, 95 *n.*
Cannanore, junk seized by the Dutch, 325.
Cannon, for Achin, 63, 64 *n.*, 65 *n.*; sale by the Dutch to the natives, 92; borrowed by the English from the Dutch, 338.
Canongoo. See *Kānūngū*.
Canvas, 338.
Cape of Good Hope, 49, 110, 110 *n.*, 124, 125, 127, 136, 157, 202, 203, 214–16, 271 *n.*, 324; annexed by the English, 202, 215.
Caphila, 188, 210, 211, 240, 249, 257, 273, 341; term explained, 31 *n.*
Capparias, 94, 235.
Cardamoms, 58, 76 (2), 85, 87, 95, 142.
Cardro, Rev. Matthew, proceeds to Persia, 144, 144 *n.*; charges against, 241.
Carpentier. *See* De Carpentier.
Carpets, 19, 61, 188, 201, 214, 250; from Agra, 47, 73, 161, 168, 178; from Bengal, 254 *n.*; from Burhānpur, 112; from Jaunpur, 195; from Lahore, 51, 58, 168, 178; from Patna, 214.
Carrarye, 199.
Cartas. *See* Passes (Portuguese).
Cartwright, James, appointed accountant at Masulipatam, 196; arrives, 208, 209; dies, 255.
Casalba Chan. *See* Baroda, Governor of.
Casanthie, 339.
Cash, 263.
Cassadies, 93.
Cassaes, 195 (2).
Casseeds, 63.
Cassett. See *Qāsid*.
Cassia fistula, 76, 142.
'Cats,' 300 *n.*
'Cattaway,' 198.
Causmana. See *Khāsmāma*.
'Cavidall,' 115, 143, 185, 208, 323.
Cazana. See *Khazāna*.
Cazi. See *Qāzī*.
Cecbaras, 344.
Cere-cloth, 105.
Cesta, 172.
Ceylon. *See* Danes.
Chābuk, 48, 111, 343.
Chalkhill, John, 328.
Chamberlain [Richard?], steward of the *Expedition*, 66.
Champā Shāh, 198 *n.*
Champalls, 293, 352.
Champaree, 347.
'Chan-dahare' ivory, 189.
Chanderouz. *See* Maize.
Channātam, 266 *n.*
Chapra. *See* Lac.
Charles, Prince, 241.
Charles, the, 41, 49, 52, 124 (2), 124 *n.*, 125, 144, 185–7, 206, 212, 219, 232, 249, 343.
Chaul, 306; English ships at, 281, 285, 286, 289, 316, 324; Jeffries at, 287, 296; letter from, 287; junks of, 165, 210; English decide to seize them, 244, 287, 324, 325; but are anticipated by the Dutch, 295, 324, 325; Governor of, 296.
Cheine, 121.
Chhāp, 130.
Chhappar, 247.
Chickeens. *See* Sequins.
Chilege Chan. *See* Qulich Khān.
China, Englishmen in, 266 *n.*; goods from, 42, 214; cabinets, 18; quicksilver, 55; silk, 11, 156, 195, 208; *see also* Porcelain.
China roots, 62, 66.
Chintz, 1, 24, 43, 46, 63, 76 (2), 84, 93, 94, 100, 102, 107, 108, 178; hangings of, 75; note on, 84 *n.*
Chiram, 94.
Chokaree, 93.
Chokerians, 94, 235.
Chopra, 90, 92, 97, 99; Governor of, 97.
Choultry, 198, 269, 273; term explained, 198 *n.*
Choureandu, 309.
Chowkee, 102.
Chowtars, 64, 93, 103, 193, 266, 351, 352.
Chuckree, 93.
Chumpeyshaw, banker at Agra, 198.
Chupra. *See* Chopra.
Churl, *passim*; weight of, 353; term explained, 60 *n.*
Cinnamon, 62, 66.
Cipher, use of, 78 *n.*
Cirne. *See* Mauritius.
Cittringes, 354.
Civet, 47, 52, 57, 235.
Clark, John, at Masulipatam, 43; arrives

at Surat as a factor, 214; sent to Ahmadābād, 234, 252; signs letters, 278, 281, 282, 291, 306, 308, 318, 329, 334 (2), 339, 343, 345, 347, 350, 353.
Clarke, W., 111.
Clove, the, 151, 156, 165.
Coaches, used by English factors, 76, 93, 125, 128, 179, 348.
Cochin, 48, 214, 276.
Cochineal, 18, 184, 250; not wanted, 21, 54, 78; price of, 169.
Coco-nuts, 66, 70.
Coen, Jan Pieterszoon, 157, 201, 276, 348.
Coffee, 296, 306, 311 (3), 312; ordered from Mokha, 83, 143; price of, in Persia, 83.
Cognac, 333.
Coitmore, Rowland, 25 *n*.
Cojanazan. *See* Nizām, Khwāja.
Collimatt, 24 *n*.
'Committees,' 47, 263, 305 (2).
Comorin, Cape, 1, 73, 86.
Comoro Islands, 68, 124, 271, 272, 277, 290, 324, 329.
Connock, Edward, agent in Persia, 21, 31, 314 *n*.; Roe and, 17; his achievements, xxv, 55; his death, xxvi.
Connowaye, 38.
Conserves, 10, 119, 141, 250.
Conyskins, 21.
Copland, Rev. Patrick, 32; letter from, 25; notice of, xlvii, 25 *n*.
Copper, 100, 114, 142, 144; basins, 66.
Coral, 47, 141; trade in, xvii, 184, 265, 269; imported from the Red Sea, 131; use of, 131, 259; Portuguese trade in, 10, 184; ordered from England, 18, 326; sale of, 207, 258, 259, 270, 281, 289, 301, 302, 326; importation resisted at Surat, *see* Surat; natives relinquish trade in, 326; polishing of, in Bījāpur, 265; beads, 41, 44, 259.
Corconna. *See* Kārkhāna.
Corge, 192, 260; note on, 61 *n*.
Corias, 64, 351, 352.
Cornelius, the Dutchman, 78.
'Corronell,' 243.
Corsi, Francisco, 15, 173, 252.
Cosbeg, 140.
Cotton goods, *passim*; quilts of, 10, 92, 301; wool, 63, 76, 94, 161, 240; yarn not to be sent home, 58; from Masulipatam, 41, 44, 49.
'Course.' *See* Kos.
Covado, 21; length of, 163, 192, 197, 205, 236 (2); note on, 21 *n*.
Cowha. *See* Coffee.
Cowl. *See* Qaul.
Crackers, 289.
Crane, Henry, 225.
Cranganore, 1.
Crispe, Nicholas, xxxii; letter to the President and Council at Surat, 296; notice of, 296 *n*.
Crosby, Henry, journals of, 124, 144.
Crystal beads, 52.
Curtis, John, 132.
Cutba. See *Kitāba*.
Cutcha, 74.
Cutcherry, 145.
Cutsnagore, 300 *n*.
Cuttonees, 10, 92, 301.
Cutwork bands, 21.

Da Gama, Dom Francisco, appointed Viceroy of Goa, 285 *n*.
Dabbah, 123.
Dābhol, Pepwell's fleet at, 1; proposed visit of the *Anne* to, 19, 27, 33; Bonner's fleet at, 69, 77, 81, 183, 232; Bickley's visit to, 144 *n*., 233; Shilling's fleet at, 203 (2), 215; Blyth's ships at, 286 (2), 289, 324; trade at, 2, 3, 139, 158, 184; Portuguese trade at, 252; merchants from, 96, 108, 111; proposed factory at, 139, 190, 233, 240, 251, 252, 279, 289, 325; ships of, 165; English to capture them, 6, 232, 244, 257, 287, 324, 325; Dutch take them, 295, 300, 317, 324, 325; English to be compelled to make restitution, 335; Governor of, 233, 289, 300 *n*.
Dafar, 284.
Daftars, 261, 335.
Dahlak, 57.
Dahyek, 248.
Dalālī, 264.
Dale, Sir Thomas, dispatched to the East, xxxix; holds to ransom a Portuguese carrack, 53, 77; goes to Masulipatam, xli, 110, 115, 136, 152, 156, 165; dies there, 140, 152, 157, 165.
Dalique, 57.
Damān, 37, 83, 271.
Damasks, 188.
Dānā. *See* Lac.
Danes, the, dispatch a fleet to the East, xliv; at the Cape, 124, 127; bound for Ceylon, 127, 136; arrive there, 166; attacked by Portuguese, 166; chased by Dutch, 255; their depredations feared, 131, 139, 146, 149, 251, 317; settle at Tranquebar, 254 *n*., 255, 266, 333; an Englishwoman escapes from, 266.
Darbār, 91, 319, 344.
Darrell, Henry, arrives in India, 214; proceeds to Persia, 252.
Darwesh, Khwāja, 306.
Daryābād, 178 *n*.
Dastūrī, 163, 192, 193 *n*., 194, 204, 205.

Dates, from Persia, 141.
Dāūd, Khwāja, 296, 317 (2).
Daulatābād, 315, 318.
Davie, Walter, 225.
Dayta. *See* Dhāita.
De Albuquerque, Fernão, Governor of Goa, 154 *n.*, 208 *n.*
De Andrade, Ruy Freire, dispatched from Lisbon, xxvii, 127, 136, 143, 154; arrives at Ormus, 204, 206, 215; fights with Shilling's fleet, 220–9, 241; rumoured death of, 228; prepares for a fresh encounter, 245, 278, 284; reinforced, 293, 297, 306, 325; the 'Pride of Portugal', 228.
De Azevedo, Don Emmanuel, 284.
De Carpentier, Pieter, 254, 276.
De Chaves, Baliazar, 220.
De Duyts, Abraham, 252.
De Haze, Hans, Dutch Agent at Masulipatam, 48, 165.
De Noronha, Dom Affonso, appointed Viceroy of Goa, 285 *n.*
De Silva, Captain Francisco, 225.
De Silva y Figueroa, Don Garcia, xxvii.
Dedel, Jacob, 254, 276, 277; admiral of the joint English and Dutch expedition against the Portuguese, 276 (2), 329.
Defence, Council of, at Batavia, 275, 298.
Defence, Treaty of, xlii, 110, 200, 209, 215, 251, 253.
'Deheig,' 248.
Delhi, Jahāngīr at, 337.
Denton, Adam, 42-4, 166, 209.
Deo Vishnudās, 329.
Derebandes, 178.
Derngam. *See* Dhārangāon.
Deugar, 296.
'*Devil of Delft*,' the, 202.
Dhāita, 74; tolls levied at, 74 *n.*, 88, 89, 122 (2), 303; English refused exemption, 331; Rāja of, *see* Partab Shāh.
Dhārangāon, 93, 94, 99, 100, 104, 107.
Dhobī, 189.
Dholka, 28; note on, 28 *n.*; goods from, 62, 64, 75 (2), 76, 142, 178, 235 (2), 282, 314, 348.
Diamond, the, 124 *n.*, 125, 128, 180, 181, 206, 212, 276, 329.
Diamonds, sent to Batavia, 208, 254, 266, 343; less in demand, 251, 327; purchase of, 255; scarce and dear, 265; a mine discovered near Masulipatam, 207, 327; Methwold visits it, 208 *n.*, 217, 255; Jahāngīr demands its cession, 208 *n.*, 332; mine closed, 265; reopened, 208 *n.*
Dīgh, 74.
Dig-lac. *See* Lac.
Dimittees, sent to England, 250.
Diu, tolls exacted from junks, 81, 83; ships of, 109, 119, 165; English to capture them, 4, 6, 19, 20, 244; one taken, 227; Dutch seize two, 300, 325.
Diul-Sind, 2; trade of, 12, 14; note on, 12 *n.*; Portuguese at, 14; ship taken, 181, 186; claim for restitution, 267, 335 (2), 336, 346.
Dīwān, 105, 150, 275.
Dodsworth, Henry, 32.
Dogs, sent to India, 68.
Dollars, 187, 333.
Dolphin, the, 271 *n.*, 272 (2), 279, 295, 309, 311 (2), 339 (2).
Dombia, 57.
Dopattahs, 195.
Dounman, William, death of, 328.
Downton, Captain, 284.
Dragon, the, 54, 56, 64, 65 (3), 67, 68, 70 (2), 73, 77, 81, 156, 183, 290; taken by the Dutch, xlii *n.*, 167.
Dragon's Claw, the, 156 (2), 275, 329.
Dragons (piece-goods), 42, 266.
Duist, Francis, 202.
Duke, Matthew, letters from, 28, 47, 151, 165, 209, 261, 264, 303; letter to, 217; goes to Masulipatam, 151, 165, 261; accountant there, 263, 305; desires to invest in the Company's stock, 210; and permission to return to England, 210.
Dulka. *See* Dholka.
Dungarees, 266.
Dunnage, 251.
Dutch, the, Roe on the policy of, 14, 17; competition in India, 17; ships, *passim*; at the Cape, 202, 215; troubles with in the Far East, *passim*; capture English ships, 48, 49, 73, 157, 166, 167, 179, 181 (2), 185; negotiations at home, 110, 125-7, 142, 157, 200, 251; agreement respecting Pulicat, 253; joint fleet for the Malabar Coast, xliii, 275-7, 290, 304, 329; proposed co-operation in the Persian Gulf, 310, 325; capture a French ship, 255; chase a Danish ship, 255; take Portuguese vessels, 48, 165; fight with the Spaniards, 304; designs on native shipping, 3, 5, 244, 251; surprise junks, 48, 49, 286, 295, 300, 317 *n.*, 322, 324; invited to settle at Mamenipatam, 254 *n.*; buy slaves, 279, 300. *See also* Achin, Agra, Ahmadābād, Masulipatam, Mokha, Pulicat, Surat, &c.
Dutties, 46, 51, 58, 61, 62, 64, 75, 76 (2), 93, 95, 142 (2), 161, 178, 183, 201, 235 (2), 295, 314, 323, 347; note on, 46 *n.*; dyeing of, 301.
Dyer, —, letter to, 129.
Dyes, used at Broach, &c., 85, 86; the best made at Agra, 162.

Eagle, the, 225, 235, 249; goes to Persia, 203–7, 214, 215, 220–8; detains the Surat junk, 240; sent to the southwards, 248 *n*., 252, 284.
Earzedash. See *Arz-dāsht*.
East India Company, letters addressed to, 1, 7, 12, 13, 20, 23, 25, 27, 28 (2), 29, 41, 44, 46, 47, 50, 67, 68, 78, 86, 134, 151, 152, 156, 160, 165, 167, 183, 196, 206, 207, 209, 212, 227, 232, 241, 249, 254, 259, 261, 297, 303, 323, 333 (2), 338, 341; references to letters from, 85, 126 (2), 127, 128, 138, 143, 160, 183, 212, 214, 229, 234, 237, 282; directions for the management of the trade in India, 58, 125; the disposal of ships left to the Surat Council, 250; copies of correspondence to be sent home, 51; also lists of persons employed, 53; directions for the payment of wages and for the realization of the estates of deceased factors, 53; ships to be sent home earlier, 137, 235, 244; use of fresh meat limited, 133, 249, 290; gifts from natives to be brought to account, 47, 56; factors not to have wives in India, 21; inquiry to be made regarding Abyssinia, 56, 60; orders regarding the trade in Persia, 129, 141, 149; the stopping of the Prince's junk authorized, 214, 237; complaints of certain piece-goods, 126, 160, 169; they desire more calico and less indigo, 46, 75, 115, 116, 126, 127, 137; their treatment of Roe, 216; their negotiations with the Dutch, 110, 125, 127, 142, 157, 200, 251.
Edmonds, Henry, 58, 216, 252; death of, 328.
Ekaria. *See* Ikkeri.
Elahye. See *Gas*.
Elatches. *See* Layches.
'Elephant, the' (storm), 286.
Elephants' teeth, sale of, 14, 47, 54, 76, 78, 184, 189, 206, 266, 269, 281, 289, 302; troubles with the Custom House officials over, 101, 134, 141; Portuguese trade in, 10, 11; brought from East Africa, 57, 58.
Elizabeth, the, 124 *n*., 125.
Embroideries, 18, 164, 192.
Emeralds, 18, 21.
Enamel, 18, 21, 54, 247.
Enaume. See *Inām*.
Engano, 110 *n*., 156, 157 (2).
Eramees, 62, 64, 76, 142, 235, 250, 338.
'Erze.' See *Arzī*.
Ewing, —, letter to, 129.
Exchange, the, 202, 214, 276, 329.
Exchange, rate of, 85, 102, 104, 146, 155, 182, 198, 236, 248, 329, 330.
Expedition, the, goes to Jask, 45, 55, 66, 68, 77, 79, 140, 141; prizes taken by, 66, 68, 75, 77, 79; proceeds to the southwards, 54, 56, 60, 65, 66, 70 (2), 77, 156; taken by the Dutch, 167; officers of, 66.

Factors, lists to be sent home yearly, 53; estates of, 53; forbidden to marry in India, 21; experienced men wanted, 252, 328; increase of wages, 169, 184, 324.
Faiz-ullah, Mīrzā, 150 *n*.
Fanams, 263.
Farmān-navīs, 107.
Fatehpur Sīkrī, Jahāngīr at, 82.
Feathers, 54, 192.
Ferrars, John, 58.
Fettiplace, Francis, letters from, 46, 160; letters to, 102, 107; to remain another year, 58; at Agra, 219; to go home, 234; death of, 256, 257, 328; estate of, 261, 328, 335; Roe on, 16; notice of, 46 *n*.
Fettipoore. *See* Fatehpur Sīkrī.
Fiorino, Sebastiano, 223, 291.
'Firm,' 145.
Fitzherbert, Captain, in command of the Bantam fleet, 202 *n*.; the voyage out, 202 *n*., 203; annexes the Cape, 202, 215; succeeds Captain Pring at Bantam, 215; vice-admiral of the fleet for the Malabar Coast, 276 (2), 277, 329; letter to, 290.
Folding-cases, 54.
Forrest, Henry, 43, 209 (2).
Fortification in India impracticable, 13, 52.
Fortune, the, 271 *n*.
Francis, the, 31, 49, 86.
Freeman, Robert, 102, 103.
French, the, 5, 251, 317; fleet for the East, 146; at Achin, 254 *n*., 255, 324; at Masulipatam, 254 *n*., 255; the Dutch and, 255, 303; ship burnt at Bantam, 324.
Furs, not required, 168.
Fursland, Richard, 65, 66, 68, 69; at Achin, 156; President at Batavia, 196 *n*., 254, 276; letters from, 290, 329, 341; letter to, 248.
Futter, Francis, goes to Masulipatam, 165; letters from, 264, 349; letter to, 217.

Gadelles, 63.
Gads, steel, 76.
Gajiyā, 294.
Gandevī, 29, 123; note on, 29 *n*.
Ganj, 192.
Ganj-āwar, the, 113.
Ganjī, 334.
Gas, 21 *n*.; *ilāhī*, 192, 197.
Gelalepore, 178.
Gengellpoore. *See* Jahāngīrpur.
'Gentiles,' 81.

George, John, 309, 347.
Germans, in India, 159, 252.
Gharī, 147.
Ghiāsuddīn Muhammad, Mīrzā. *See* Itimād-uddaula.
Ghusl-khāna, 273, 292, 320.
Giery, 205.
Gift, the, 27, 32, 51, 86 (2), 125, 156.
Gifts, put to the Company's account, 47, 56.
Gingatha, 266.
Gingelly Coast, 48, 49.
Ginger, 10, 51, 76, 100, 114, 235.
Ginghams, 61, 63, 93, 101, 105, 179.
Gipps, Robert, 7.
'Gird,' 198.
Girdles, 94.
Girih, 205.
Gjedde, Ove, in command of Danish fleet, xlv, 124 *n*.
Glanvill, John, sent to Broach, 166; signs letters, 273, 278, 280 (2), 294, 299, 307, 308, 312, 313, 315, 338, 340, 341 (2), 347, 351, 355.
Glass, 11, 18, 21, 53, 59, 141, 168. *See also* Looking-glasses.
Globe, the, 8, 12, 51, 52, 156, 261, 262, 264, 266 (2), 297, 298 *n*., 303, 305, 324, 341.
Gloves, 21, 54, 78.
Goa, 86, 154, 185, 232, 266, 284, 287, 288; blockade proposed, 15; Anglo-Dutch fleet sent to, 276, 304, 329; letters from, 82, 83, 96; English refugee from, 57; galleons built at, 83; Viceroys of, 15, 19, 31, 53, 82 *n*., 154, 159, 207, 284, 285.
Gobars, 24, 42.
Goghā, unsuitable for English fleet, 29, 30; proposed landing of rials at, 260; ships of, 2, 4, 81, 83, 109, 124, 130, 136, 138, 165, 278.
Golconda, 20; Sprage sent to, 33, 38, 59, 77; piece-goods from, 99; King of, 41 *n*., 49.
Gold, from Abyssinia, 57 (2); from Africa, 58; gold coins from Mokha, 190; gold cloth, 18, 54, 174, 184, 327, 331; gold lace, 78, 164, 174; gold twist, 164.
Golden Lion, the, 41, 349.
Golding, Rev. Mr., 19, 25, 26, 32, 33; death of, 184.
Gollye, 213.
Gomāshta, 248.
Gombroon, account of, 46; to be examined, 229.
Gomes, Jasper, 316 (2).
Gong. See *Ganj*.
Gonsalves, Giles, 241.
Good Fortune, the (Dutch ship), 248 *n*., 249 *n*, 276, 284.
Good Hope, Cape of. *See* Cape.
Goodall, Bartholomew, 276.
Goodwin, John, letter from, 334; wages increased, 186, 216, 252.
Gore, John, 225.
Gorie, Signor, 322, 340.
Goutom, 104 *n*.
Gracees, 299.
Grackles, 200 *n*.
Grāsiā, 299 *n*.
Graswinkel, Jan, 202.
Gravances, 121.
Gree, 147, 247.
Griger, George, 159 (2); letter to, 159.
Grobades, 62.
Grograms, 327.
Guetunes, 104, 112.
Guffall, Joseph, 306.
Guinea, 41, 44.
Gum-lac. *See* Lac.
Gunpowder, 120, 252, 338, 339.
'Gunned,' 340.
Gunny, 66, 76, 99, 104, 161, 294, 308, 311, 340.
Guns, not wanted, 78.
Guru, debt of, 127.
Gwalior, 74.

Haberdin, 333.
Haddee. *See* Ahadīs.
'Hair, against the,' 158.
Hājī, broker, 87, 95.
Hājīpur-Patna. *See* Patna.
Hall, William, 225.
Halstead, Nathaniel, 189, 307, 330, 351; made chief at Cambay, 234; letter from, 37; letters signed by, 278, 291, 301, 306, 308, 310, 318, 339, 343, 345, 347.
Hammomes. See *Humhums*.
Hāq Pārak, 86.
Hardwār, 346.
Harijī, 293.
Hariprasād, debt of, 260, 270.
Harris, Richard, 152; drowned, 157.
Harrison, William, 216.
Hart, Cornelius, 110, 157.
Hart, the (Dutch ship), 166.
Hart, the (English ship), 243, 249, 311–13, 315; voyage to Persia, 203, 204, 206, 207, 214, 215, 220–8; Swan appointed master of, 225; to be sent home, 230, 231, 235, 237, 249, 285–8, 342; voyage to Arabia, 244–6, 248 *n*., 284, 289, 323, 324, 328, 342; voyage home, 286 *n*.
Harvey, Walter, 145, 146, 188; letter to, 182; death of, 216, 252.
Hasan Alī, Khwāja, 150 *n*.
Hasanpur, 269 *n*., 273.
Hasseines, 235.

Hatch, John, master of the *Bee*, 19; made master of the *Gift*, 51, 86; chart by, 30.
Hatfield, —, 13.
Hawkridge, Thomas, 164, 170, 268, 269, 337, 345; pay of, 177; promotion of, 268.
Hawtrey, John, 288.
Hayward, Nicholas, 231; to proceed home overland, 235, 237.
Hazelwood, Richard, 276.
Helabaze. *See* Allahābād.
Hemsall, William, 21.
Henrick, 314.
Henselle or Henslaus (steel), 76, 88, 94.
Hepworth, Robert, 222.
Herba cloth, 112.
Hergee. *See* Harijī.
Heuten, Wouter, at Ahmadābād, 354; at Agra, 219; goes to Surat, 348; notice of, 219 *n.*
Heynes, Edward, Secretary to Roe, 303 *n.*; sent to Mokha, xiii, 19, 20, 32, 33 *n.*, 35 (2), 36 *n.*, 44, 66; at Cambay, 50; at Surat, 146; fourth in council there, 186 (2), 187, 189, 190 (2); sent to Ahmadābād, 155; to go to Baroda, 189; sent to Burhānpur instead, 190, 211 *n.*, 217, 218, 249, 251; private trade of, 50, 188 (2); charges against, 269; to return to England, 303, 328, 330, 331; letters from, 183, 188 (2), 269, 270, 273, 280, 282, 292, 302, 303, 318, 330, 340 (2); letter to, 50.
Hides, Muscovy, 21, 78, 105, 107, 160, 164, 169, 184, 192, 246, 302, 327; note on, 55 *n.*; use of, 169.
Hill, William, at Ahmadābād, 189, 234, 278, 314; at Sarkhej, 330; letters signed by, 278, 281, 282, 291, 301, 306, 308, 310, 318, 339, 343, 345, 347, 350, 353.
Himmat Khān, Governor of Broach, 88, 123, 133 (2), 148, 149, 151, 152, 155, 160, 166, 332 (2); goods and presents for, 105-7, 113, 160; petition to, 144; letter to, 356; appointed Governor of Ahmadābād, 230; his indigo, 273, 278, 280, 291, 294, 300, 307, 313, 329, 339, 341, 347, 356.
Hoare, William, letters from, 68, 271, 306, 311 (2); desires to go to Persia, 311; notice of, 68 *n.*
Hobb, Richard, 151.
Hogreporepatamia. *See* Patna.
Hope, the, 2, 41, 124 *n.*, 125.
Hopkinson, Joseph, member of council at Surat, 187 (2), 190 (2), 201, 203, 204, 210 (2), 216-19, 230-2, 234, 235, 237 (2), 243; made warehouse-keeper, 190; letters from, 189, 214, 307 (2), 323.
Hound, the, 156, 166.
Houton. *See* Heuten.
Howard, —, 172.
Howe, Edward, 145, 146.
Hudson, Mrs., 19, 77.
Hughes, Robert, letters from, 160, 191 (2), 197-201, 204, 212, 217 (2), 229, 236 (2), 246, 248, 253, 256-9, 268, 335, 345; sent from Agra to Patna, 182, 212 (2), 249; appointed chief at Agra, 234, 251, 257, 261; takes up his post, 268, 270, 283, 336; his seal, 259 *n.*
Hughson, William, 43.
Hūglī, 213, 214.
Humhums, 193, 206.
Hundīs, 85, 146, 182, 236 (2), 248; note on, 85 *n.*
Hussarees, 94.
Hutchinson, Robert, 269; letters from, 105, 106, 243, 269, 270, 273, 280, 282, 292, 293, 302, 318, 330, 340 (2); letters to, 87, 94-8; at Burhānpur, 37; made a factor, 58; sent to Baroda, 87, 92; returns, 101; wounded, 145; Register at Surat, 186, 189; sent to Burhānpur, 189, 211 (2), 218, 249; proceedings there, 230, 231, 243, 287, 341; desires to return to England, 293, 328, 330, 331.

Ibrāhīm Khān, 150.
Ibrāhīmī (coin), 351.
Ikat pingungs, 94.
Ikhlās, 2.
Ikkeri, overtures from the Rāja of, 56, 60, 65, 66, 68-70, 77, 81, 116, 159, 252.
Inām, 96, 97.
Indigo, from Agra and Biāna, 47, 59, 61, 73, 84, 85, 86, 102, 116, 122, 184, 235, 260, 268, 323; from Ahmadābād and Sarkhej, 7, 9, 61, 62, 86, 100, 109, 113, 116, 184, 235, 278, 323, 324, 329, 348; from Jāmbusar, 64, 291, 300, 310; from the Coromandel Coast, 3, 41, 44, 49, 116, 158, 208, 255; from Lahore, 326; price of, 61, 62, 64, 86, 116, 260, 324, 348; loss of weight in drying, 250; sand put into bales, 251, 353; packing of, 51, 250, 291, 301, 308, 314, 320, 328, 330, 348; less to be sent home, 46, 116, 126, 127, 137, 214; caravan robbed, *see* Young, John.
Ingana. *See* Engano.
'Interlope,' 30.
Interlopers. *See* Pirates.
Iron, from Surat, 1, 76, 88, 142; English, 54, 63.
Isams, 51; note on, 51 *n.*
Is-hāq Beg, Governor of Surat, obstructs English trade, 89, 94, 97, 101, 106, 109, 126, 135; writes on behalf of the factors, 111, 112; the Prince orders him to be

punished, 112; Kerridge writes to, 114, 120; licenses purchase of provisions, 121; prohibits sale of coral, 131; quarrel with, 144–51; he is superseded, 148; goes to Burhānpur, 270; complains against his successor, 275, 340; and hopes to become Governor again, 275; re-appointed, 281, 320; the factors at Burhānpur and, 274, 275, 281, 292, 293, 303, 318–22; returns to Surat, 334; obliges English to restore their booty, 339, 344, 349–52; his character, 123, 126, 281, 332.
Ispahān, letters from, 346; letter to, 257.
Itimād-uddaula (Mīrzā Ghiāsuddīn Muhammad), 4, 5.
Ivory. *See* Elephants' teeth.

Jacinth, the, captured by the English and renamed the *Primrose*, 284–9, 314.
Jādū Rāy, 261, 318, 332.
Jāfarābād, 180.
Jāgīr, 90, 322; term explained, 90 *n*.
Jahān, Khwāja, 315.
Jahān Lōdī, Khān, 333.
Jahāngīr, the Emperor, 333; quits Ahmadābād for Agra, 10, 17, 19, 21, 79, 80 *n*., 162; at Fatehpur Sīkrī, 82; starts for Kashmīr, 108, 164, 174, 177; back in Agra, 261; leaves again, 268, 330, 331, 336, 337, 346; letters to and from James I and, 21, 22 (2), 38, 219; Roe and, 14, 75; Biddulph and, 173; goods sold to, 201, 335; farmāns from, 59, 80, 89, 96; demands diamonds from the King of Golconda, 208 *n*.; refuses to receive a Portuguese ambassador, 15, 17; the Dutch and, 219 *n*.; his drunkenness, 347.
Jahāngīr, the (ship), 2, 4.
Jahāngīrīs (piece-goods), 213.
Jahāngīrpur, 231, 291.
Jakatra, xliii, 49, 87, 349. *See also* Batavia.
Jalaalpoer, 178 *n*.
Jaller, 121.
Jam Qulī Beg, Mīrzā, Captain of Surat Castle, 292; letters to, 120, 145 (2); prevents the English from buying a house, 101, 103; acting Governor, 120 (2), 218; goes to Burhānpur, 340.
Jamāl Khān, Governor of Surat, 100, 150, 176; ordered by the Prince to be punished, 112; offers the English a house, 101, 103; character of, 150.
Jāmbusar, indigo from, 64, 291, 300, 310; note on, 64 *n*.
James I, and the Dutch, 126; letter to Roe from, vi, 16; Roe's letter to, 21; letters to and from Jahāngīr, 21, 22 (2), 38, 219; letter to the King of Achin, 58, 64, 66; to the Samorin of Calicut, 58, 71; to the King of Socotra, 66; to the Shāh of Persia, 328.
James, Giles, letters from, *passim*; letters to, 104, 107, 112, 114, 117, 119; arrives in India, vi; Company's orders regarding, 58; censured, 68; sent to Burhānpur, 99, 101, 103–5, 107; returns to Surat, 111, 112; proposal to send him again to Burhānpur, 189; made accountant at Surat instead, 190, 249.
James, the. See *Royal James* and *Lesser James*.
Jamieson, Archibald, account of voyage to Surat, 203; narrative of the fights off Jask, 226; and of the voyage to Arabia, 285.
Jamshed Beg, 182, 307, 308; appointed Governor of Surat, 146, 148, 149; petition of the English to, 150; reaches Surat, 155 (2); bribes given to, 187, 323; oppresses the factors, 187, 189, 282, 323; visits the *London*, 225; redress of grievances, 240; complaints of Is-hāq Beg against, 275; he is dismissed, 281; goes to Burhānpur, 330, 340; likely to be reinstated, 331, 332, 340.
Jangee Madoytee, 98.
Jangerpoare. *See* Jahāngīrpur.
Janjmer, 29.
Janneere. *See* Junnar.
Jānojī Mādhojī, 98.
Japara, 49.
Jarāma, Khor, 286 *n*.
Jarolee, 94.
Jasames. See *Asām*.
Jask (*see also* Persia), trade with, 12, 19; the *Bee* sent to, 25, 30, 31; voyage of the *Expedition* to, 45, 55, 66, 68, 77, 79, 140, 141; Bickley's fleet proceeds to, 127, 131, 133, 136, 143–5, 148, 179–81; Shilling's ships go to, 203, 204, 206, 207, 215, 220–8, 241; Blyth's and Weddell's fleets sent to, 310, 325, 339; letter from, 227; silk from, 229; native passengers in English ships, 141, 220, 301; the fleet from England might go first to, 186; a small vessel needed for, 186; an unsuitable port, 31; a chart of, 30, 180, 181; proposed fortification of, 143, 229.
Jaunpur, carpets from, 195.
Jeffries, Robert, 67 *n*.; letters from, 241, 287, 296, 315, 333; sent to Persia, 143 (2); quarrels with Cardro and others, 144, 241, 242; at Surat, 243, 333; sent in Blyth's fleet, 287, 313; deputed to Malik Ambar, xxxii, 287, 290, 310 *n*., 324, 328; his account of

his mission, 296, 315, 333; ordered to Persia, 317, 318, 326, 328, 347, 348; notice of, 241 *n*.
Jemison. *See* Jamieson.
Jesson, Randal, goes home overland, 207; made mate of the *London*, 237; advance to, 237.
Jesuits in India. *See* Corsi.
Jew, a, 217.
Jewels, imported free of duty, 39; sent to the Court for sale, 219, 251, 266, 327, 330, 335. *See also* Diamonds, Pearls, &c.
Jiddah, ships for, 109, 113, 136.
Joanna. *See* Comoro Islands.
Jonas, the, 271, 272, 279 (3), 306, 310, 311 (2), 339.
Jones, Thomas, 43; letters from, 43, 44; recalled, 196; praised, 210.
Jourdain, John, xxxix, 58, 110 *n*., 156, 157, 165; killed, xlii, 278 *n*.
Junnar, 115.
Jurabassa, 72.

Kabīr, 343.
Kābul, 330, 331, 337, 346.
Kahār, 105, 106, 283; note on, 105 *n*.
Kalyān, 248.
Kalyān Shagīrd, 114.
Kamsūkhā, 200 *n*., 205.
Kandahar, taken by the Persians, 333.
Kanott. See *Qanāt*.
Kānūngū, 120.
Kārkhāna, 198.
Karodra, 33.
Karwānsarāī. See *Sarāī*.
Kasar, 193.
Kashmīr, Jahāngīr goes to, 108, 164, 174, 177.
Katteries, 352.
Keeling, Captain, x, 7, 186.
Kenn, John, 192 *n*., 195 *n*.
Kerridge, Thomas, President at Surat, letters to and from, and references to, *passim*; previous service of, vi; Roe's opinion of, 16, 23; goes with Blyth's squadron to Arabia, xxxi, 248, 249, 257, 284 *n*.; returns to England, xxxiii, 111, 207, 251, 285; proposed appointment to Persia, 318, 326; salary of, 60 *n*., 328.
Kerseys, 21, 78.
Kessure, 193.
Khandarūs, 296.
Khānkhānān, the, detains an English caravan, 89, 170; negotiations with, for its release, 89-92, 97, 99, 100, 103 (2), 104, 105, 107 (2), 108 (2), 109, 111, 118, 170-3; petition to, 90, 170; he releases it, 120-2 (2); orders compensation for the lost indigo, 121, 154; operations against Malik Ambar, 211, 333; promise to Ramprasād, 322; notice of, 59 *n*.
Khānsāma, 248, 253.
Khatrīs, 352 *n*.
Khazāna, 91, 188, 190 (2), 274.
Khazānchī, 339.
Khorasan, silk from, 251.
Khurram, Prince. *See* Shāh Jahān.
Khush-hāl, Hakīm, 171, 302.
Kirkī, 317.
Kishin, in Arabia, 67 *n*., 68.
Kishm, in Persian Gulf, captured by the Portuguese, 333.
Kitāba, 92 *n*.
Knives, 54, 63, 64, 78, 168, 184.
Kollūr, discovery of a diamond mine at, 208 *n*.
Korā rupees, 113.
Kos, 191, and *passim*; Jahāngīrī, 191; term explained, 82.
Kotwāl, 48, 198, 307; term explained, 48 *n*.
Kunst, John Cornelius, 202.
Kuria Muria Islands, 284.
Kutch junk, seized by the Dutch, 300, 325.

Lac (gum-lac), purchase of, 11, 46, 86, 100, 104, 142, 184, 235, 250, 254, 266, 270 (2), 281, 289, 308, 323, 330, 335, 343; *chapra* lac, 84, 235 (2), 340; *dānā* lac, 84, 235 (3); *dig*-lac, 322; *ras* lac, 64, 84, 235, 322, 330, 340; for dyeing, 76, 161, 199; prices of, 51, 62, 64, 84, 258, 264.
Laccadive Islands, 203.
Lackhoure. *See* Lukhawur.
Lahore, 261, 331; letter from, 214; trade of, 195; carpets from, 51, 58, 168; indigo from, 326; goods to be obtained from, 178, 182, 235; proposed factory at, 183; factors sent to, 188, 190, 213, 234 (2); they return, 267, 326, 335.
Lakhimpur, 94.
Lam, Jan Dirckzoon, 276.
Lambskins, 21.
Lancaster, Richard, at Broach, 128; letter to, 128; wounded at Surat, 145; sent to Cambay, 167, 234, 278; proceedings there, 282, 301, 312, 352; letters signed by, 278, 293, 306, 309, 329, 339, 344, 352.
Landtum, 221.
Langrill, 68.
Lanquin silk, 208.
Lantegree, coral polished at, 265.
Lārībandar. *See* Diul-Sind.
Lārīs, 227, 349, 354, 355; equivalent of, 227 *n*.
Lashkar, 32, 235, 315, 332, 346.
Laughton, William, 279.

Lawn, calico, 58, 213; quilts of, 84.
Layches, 195, 197.
Lea, Robert, 316.
Leachland, John, to proceed home, 235, 237, 250; illness of, 250; at Burhānpur, 327, 330; letter from, 330.
Lead, importation of, 18, 42, 134, 158, 326; the Portuguese bring, 10, 11; the Dutch bring, 41; sale of, 54, 69, 78, 101, 107, 141, 184, 189, 208, 262, 289, 323; no demand in Persia, 54; price of, 44, 262, 289, 304, 323; used for wrapping broadcloth, 141.
Leate, Nicholas, 185.
Lesser James, the, 33, 125, 156, 158 (2), 216, 271 *n.*
Lickmapore, 94.
Lievenaer, Jean, 276.
Lignum aloes, 141, 200, 206, 258.
Limgee, Rāja, 218, 231 (2).
Lion, the, goes to Mokha, xiv, 51, 56, 60, 66, 67, 70, 77, 81–3, 106, 122–4, 126 (2), 128 (2), 130, 131, 136, 141, 175, 235, 239; at Dābhol, 69; to call at Socotra, 82; proposal to send home, 119; sent to Jask, 133, 134; dispatched to England, 140, 165–7, 202, 206, 212, 215; returns to India, 301, 333; sent again to Jask, 339; private trade in, 183; Weddell master of, 271 *n.*
Lion, the (interloper), 31; burnt, 25, 31.
Lion's Claw, the, repair of, 186.
Little Enkhuisen, the, 275.
Little Rose, the. See *Rose*, the.
Logwood, 66, 311.
London, the, 219, 296 *n.*, 326; voyage to India, 202 (2), 203; arrival, 203, 206, 214, 215; goes to Jask, 204, 207, 220–8, 237, 242, 243; sent to the coast of Arabia, 244, 246 (2), 248 *n.*, 287, 288, 323–5, 342; returns, 249, 311 (2), 328, 338; at Dābhol, 286, 289; at Chaul, 286; sent to Persia, 339; to proceed to the southwards, 207, 237, 355.
London's Hope, 286, 288.
Longcloth, 343.
Longees, 64.
Looha boot, 88.
Looking-glasses, 64, 164, 246, 327.
Lukhawur, 192 *n.*, 193, 197–200 (2), 202, 205, 213, 258, 260, 270; letter from, 283.

Macao, 265, 266.
Madafunum, 63 *n.*
Madagascar, 55, 67, 206, 215, 244; Weddell's fleet at, 271, 324.
Madraka, Ras, 284.
Magadoxo, 57.
Mahī Dās, 232.
Mahmūd Hasan, 350, 352.
Mahmūdīs, *passim*; term explained, 27 *n.*; value of, 140; coinage of, 91 *n.*; and rials, relative value, 106 (2); value as compared with the rupee, 235; number of pice to, 269.
'Mailed,' 81.
Maize, 296.
Majaculmarye, 299.
Maksūdābād, 194, 229, 253.
Malabar Coast, Anglo-Dutch fleet for the, xliii, 275–7, 290, 304, 329.
Malabar junks, detained, 184; released, 184; feared attack by, 148.
Malacca, 214.
Malda, 195, 270.
Malies, 266.
Malik Ambar, his forces besiege Burhānpur, xxx, 210, 287; driven back, 210 *n.*; they seize an English caravan, 217, 218, 231, 240, 243, 249, 257, 259, 287, 296; reprisals, 243, 272, 274, 281, 286 *n.*, 296, 317, 324, 328; embassy to, xxxii, 274, 287, 290, 297, 310–2, 315–18, 324, 328, 333; intends to seize English and Dutch property at Masulipatam, 335; plot against, at Bījāpur, 317; greatness of, 317; rumoured betrayal of his master, 333.
Malindi, 57, 68.
Mallory, Timothy, 44.
Maltas, 316.
Malum, 4.
Mamenipatam, 254 *n.*
Mames, 61, 62.
Mān Makhan, 236.
Mandarabaree, 91.
Mandī, 205.
Mandīls, 73, 195, 206.
Māndū, 9; Jahāngīr and, 60, 261, 330, 331; English caravan at, 210, 211 (2), 230, 231, 243, 336, 341, 346.
Mangalines, 266.
Mangoes, 10.
Mansūr Khān, 267, 317.
Mansil, 74, 256.
Maqām, 74.
Martin, William, sent to Broach, 7, 188 letters from, 66, 107, 108, 273, 278, 280 (2), 294, 299, 307, 308, 312, 313, 315, 323, 347, 351; letters to, 76, 85, 87 (2), 93, 95, 96, 98, 113, 127–30, 133, 148, 149 (3), 151, 152, 155 167, 178; attends consultation at Surat, 186, 201; goes to Baroda, 356; recommended to the Company, 252.
Masarrat, 126, 127, 206.
Mashak, 74.
Māsha, 259 *n.*
Masīra Island, 284, 288.
Masjid, 280.

Masseet, 280, 300.
Masts, 68, 338.
Masulipatam, letters from, 41, 43, 44, 49, 110, 151, 152, 156, 165, 181, 207, 209, 217, 254, 261, 264, 297, 303, 349; letters to, 76, 88, 114, 116, 117 (2), 120, 127, 158, 159, 167; factors at (*see also* Denton, Duke, Methwold, &c.), 82, 196; grievances of, 265; controlled from Bantam, 6; ships from Surat to, 27, 52, 77, 86; from Bantam, 52, 77, 255, 324; trade at, 208, 210, 304, 327, 342; prices of goods at, 42–4; indigo from, 41, 44, 184, 208, 255; calicoes of, 116, 208, 343; coral for, 184, 265; Dale's fleet at, 110, 136, 152–4; Pring's fleet at, 110 *n*., 153, 157, 158, 165; trade with Red Sea, 113, 305; Dutch at, 42, 44, 55, 184, 208, 209, 254, 255, 265, 266, 305, 343; pay a fixed sum for customs, 41; their troubles with the natives, 48, 265; hostilities at, 209; Mogul invasion feared at, 49; Governor of, 157, 265, 305.
Matraca, 284.
Maund, weight of, at Surat, 60, 76; at Dābhol, 289; in Persia, 83; at Masulipatam, 153, 255; at Petapoli, 262, 304; the Jahāngīrī, 199.
Mauritius, 67 *n*., 333.
Mavee, 63.
Mayflower, the, 284–8.
Masūr, 105, 106; note on, 105 *n*.
Medemblick, the, 254, 254 *n*., 255, 265.
Mendroo Seray, 283.
Mehta, 316 *n*.
'Mempoke,' 270.
Mentasses, 62, 93, 293, 352.
Mestiços, 272.
Methwold, William, 44, 110 *n*., 165, 262, 263, 304, 305, 342, 343 (2); letters from, 1, 41, 49, 152, 207, 217, 254, 264, 297, 349; letters to, 115, 158, 159, 167; his journey to the diamond mine, 208 *n*., 217, 255; his recall, 207 *n*., 209, 217, 254, 265; notice of, 1 *n*.
Midas, 232.
Middelburg, the, loss of, 29, 65, 92 *n*., 120.
Middleton, David, 67, 333; notice of, 67 *n*.
Middleton, Sir Henry, 28, 35.
Midnall, John, 185, 327.
Mills, Thomas, 298, 298 *n*., 305, 342.
Milward, John, 298 *n*.
Ministers. *See* Cardro, Copland, Golding.
Mints. *See* Ahmadābād *and* Surat.
Mīr-adl, 89.
Mirando, Francisco, 220.
Mīrdaha, 97.
Miringoni, 124.
Mirjhasaj, Governor of Mamenipatam, 254 *n*.
Mīrmīrān, 60.
Mīrsāmān, 261, 340.
Mittfoones. *See* Mutfoones.
Mobulepoore, 270, 283.
'Mocheares,' 51.
Moguls, in Patna, 195, 197.
Mohairs, 54, 78, 122, 164, 246.
Mohilla. *See* Comoro Islands.
Mohub Alīpur, 270 *n*.
Mohur, gold, 320.
Mokha (*see also* Red Sea), value of the trade to, 2–4, 27, 130, 185; gold from, 136, 190; goods from, 55, 78, 143; commodities for, 65, 79, 100, 109, 136, 185, 186, 251, 313, 326, 330, 339; English voyages to, see *Anne* and *Lion*; letters to the factors, 83; trade forbidden, *see* Surat; no ship sent in 1620, 207; Blyth's fleet fails to reach, 244, 245, 257, 287; unsafe to send a single ship to, 278; intended renewal of trade, 325; letters sent via, 59, 82; Indian ships trading to, *passim*; English offer to convoy native vessels to, 5, 13; native passengers for English ships, 301; Dutch at, 200 *n*., 264, 300 *n*., 305, 324; Governor of (*see also* Rajab Āghā), 67, 324.
Molies, 91.
Mombasa, 324.
Momjāma, 106.
Mondafrabar, 180.
Moningo, 318 (2).
Monnox, Edward, 6, 143 (2), 223, 242; sent to Persia, xxvi, 2, 30; quarrels with Jeffries, 241, 242; blamed, 333.
Monomotapa, 58.
Moon, the, 156.
Moroh, 156.
Morse teeth, 54, 113, 184.
Moryes (piece-goods), 42.
Mozambique, 57 (2), 58, 204, 276, 285, 288, 329; Governor of, 58.
Muhammad Taqī, 344.
Muhammad Yār, Mīrzā, 133, 178; visits the English ships, 203; made Governor of Broach, 230; goods sold to, 87, 113; presents for, 105, 278.
Mukaddam, 74, 336, 341.
Mukame, 74.
Mulher, 91 *n*.
Mullah, 352.
Mulmuls, 74, 193 *n*.
Mundy, Peter, xxiv *n*., 105 *n*., 182, 192 *n*., 193 *n*., 195 *n*., 197 *n*., 199 *n*., 200 *n*.
Muqarrab Khān, Governor of Gujarāt, 9; his dealings with the English at Ahmadābād, 9, 11, 12, 28; his trading ventures, 19; he is transferred to Patna, 9 *n*.,

191 *n.*; transactions with the factors there, 191 (2), 192, 199–201, 206, 213, 230, 246, 248; desirous of novelties, 9, 199; a good paymaster, 199; recalled, 236; proceeds to Agra, 246, 248; sons of, 246.
Murshidābād, 194 *n.*
Muschamp, George, 196.
Musk, 47, 52, 235.
Muskat, 181, 220, 227, 284, 285, 287, 288.
Muskett, John, 225.
Muslin. *See* Lawn *and* Mulmuls.
Musquette, —, 78, 89, 91, 170.
Musquit, Anthonia, 220.
'Mussallmen,' 319 (2).
Musserad. See *Masarrat*.
Mutfoones, 63, 93, 94.
Muzafarābād, 180 *n.*
Mynas, for the Company, 199, 200, 214.
Myrobalans, 10, 76.
Myrrh, 83, 143, 306.

Naerden, the, 297, 303.
Nakār, 248.
Nākhudā, 69.
Narapela. *See* Nīlapallī.
Nārāyan, 289.
Narsapurpeta, 305.
Nasīr, Khwāja, 292.
'Natcare,' 248.
Nathū Shāh, 91, 133.
Needham, Peter, 71.
New Year's Gift, the. See *Gift*.
New Zeland, the, 166, 166 *n.*, 196.
Newell, Richard, 51, 86.
Newland fish, 333 *n.*, 334.
Newlee, 63.
Newrees, 63, 93 (2), 178.
Nicanees, 51, 61, 94, 179, 235, 323.
Nicholls, William, 66; letter from, 24; letters to, 64, 329.
Nīlapallī, 110 *n.*, 136, 152, 157.
Nishādur, 76.
Nīshān, 107, 131.
Nizām, Khwāja, 116.
Nockiere, 315, 316.
Norwich stuffs, 18.
Nosārī, 124; restrictions on English purchases at, 89, 92, 95, 96, 101, 127, 135 (2); relaxed, 105, 106; Portuguese capture boats from, 119.
Nossa Senhora da Porta Segura, the, captured, 45.
Nossa Senhora de Merces, the, captured, 220, 226, 227; burnt, 221, 226, 229, 241.
Nossa Senhora de Remedio, the, captured, 225.
Nundownepore, 192 *n.*
Nunsery. *See* Nosārī.
Nūr Mahāl, vii, 4 *n.*, 177, 201, 335; junk belonging to, 81.
Nūrī rupees, 236 (2).

Oakum required, 338.
Oeresund, the, 166.
Offley, Justinian, letters from, 279, 291, 308, 338, 345, 349, 352; arrives in India, 214; sent to Broach, 234; proceeds to Baroda, 252; illness of, 291; to bring down goods, 345.
Offley, Robert, 185.
Okely, Edmund, 225.
Olpād, 132, 238, 240; Governor of, 132, 238, 240, 281, 282, 318, 332.
Onclesear. *See* Ankleswar.
Opium, 306; for Persia, 76, 142; sent to Achin, 65; not to be sent home, 8.
Orange, the, 202.
Oranje-boom, the, 110, 157, 165.
Orissa, 193 *n.*
Ormus, trade of, 12; ships of, 45, 284; Roe thinks its capture unlikely unless with Persian help, 16, 17; rumoured outbreak at, 17; preparations to attack English fleet, 45; Ruy Freire at, 136, 143, 204, 215, 266.
Oxen, at the factories, to be appraised, 93; transport by, 102, 283.

Pagodas, *passim*; value of, 152, 158, 262.
Pahlawān Safīd, Governor of Olpād, 132, 238, 240, 281, 282, 318, 332.
Paisa, 169.
Palna, 73; term explained, 73 *n.*
Palsgrave, the, 216.
Palsgrave, the, 124 *n.*, 125.
Pamre, 189, 232.
Panana, 71.
Panchawira, 62.
Pangeeta, 93.
Pangerees, 63, 178, 278, 293, 301; term explained, 178 *n.*
Paper, from Ahmadābād, 7 *n.*, 76, 142.
Pāra, 97.
Pāras, Shaikh, 344.
Parchment, 61.
Parda, 246.
Pargana, 145, 170, 205, 213.
Parker, John, letters from, 160, 199, 200, 212, 217 (2), 229, 258, 259, 268–70, 283, 335, 345; made fourth at Agra, 103, 170; desires to go home, 165; sent to Patna, 198, 199 (3), 200, 202, 213, 258, 261; appointed accountant at Agra, 234; illness of, 256, 257; leaves Patna, 268; arrives at Agra, 336.
Partab Shāh, 74 *n.*, 88 *n.*, 122 (2), 30 , 331. *See also* Dhāita.

Parwāna, 122, 133, 260, 281-3, 308, 336, 349.
Parwīz, Prince, quarrel with his brother, 108 *n.*; made Governor of Behar, 236; his servants take charge at Patna, 236; he is expected there, 248, 253; arrives, 256; turns the English out of their house, 256; his extortions, 259; leaves Patna, 259.
Passes given to native vessels by the English, 2, 4, 6, 278; by the Dutch, 322, 324; by the Portuguese, 3, 4, 6, 12, 15, 38 *n.*, 83, 181, 252.
Pātan, 102 *n.*
Patani, 158, 165.
Pathāns, 89, 90, 92, 94, 193.
Patna, letters from, 191 (2), 197–201, 204, 212, 217 (2), 229, 236 (2), 246, 248, 253, 256 (2), 258, 259, 268–70, 281; factors sent to, 182, 191, 212, 234, 249; house taken at, 192, 197; burnt, 246–8; their fresh dwelling taken away from them, 256; goods obtainable at, 192; funds available, 235; freight to Agra, 191, 256, 268, 269; length of covid at, 205, 236; purchase of silk and silk-winding at, 193, 197, 198, 205, 217, 229, 234, 253, 260; dissolution of factory ordered, 234, 256, 257; intended continuation of, 261; not carried out, 268, 269; departure of the factors, 270, 327, 336; goods sent to Surat, 257, 259, 346; Patna a suitable place for a factory, 258; Portuguese trade at, 195, 197, 213; native merchants at, 195; Governors of, *see* Muqarrab Khān *and* Parwīz.
Pattamar, 350; term explained, 350 *n.*
Pattimee, 102.
Pattolas. *See* Pettolas.
Pawn, 317.
Payne, —, 312.
Pearls, sale of, 9, 11, 20, 131, 155, 158, 169, 185, 189, 191, 328; to be sent to India, 16, 18, 20, 21, 44, 174; not wanted, 54, 78; Dutch bring, 41.
Pedreria, 62.
Pegu, 14, 44, 49, 154, 265; factors sent to, 42–4, 154, 209, 255, 343; King of, 209.
Pelsart, Dutch factor at Agra, 193 *n.*
Penguin Island, 215.
Pente (*penth*), 192.
Peons, 145, 211, 339.
Pepper, Malabar, 55, 60, 66, 69, 70, 77, 100, 114, 289; price of, at Surat, 324; Coromandel, 303; Achin, 255, 324.
Peppercorn, the, 110, 156, 157, 165.
Pepwell, Matthew, 1, 49, 52, 183.
Percallas (piece-goods), 42, 266.
Persia (*see also* Ispahān *and* Jask), English trade with, xxv, 12, 16, 52, 79, 129, 142, 185, 201, 333; factors, &c., in (*see also* Barker, Connock, Jeffries, Monnox), 11, 143, 144, 237, 252; letters to, 140, 200; quarrels of, 46, 143, 185, 326, 333; Roe's instructions to, 2; Kerridge proposed as agent, 318, 326; purchase of silk, 2, 16, 46, 77, 140, 181, 216, 229, 243, 323, 342; goods for, 16, 76, 83, 100, 114, 118, 126–30, 132, 133, 136, 140, 141, 144, 161, 169, 182, 184, 185, 195, 197, 206, 251, 278, 323, 326; spices for, 16, 65, 140–2; Dutch competition feared, 30; Portuguese and, xxvii, 16, 333; Shāh of, 31, 143, 328; captures Kandahar, 333.
Petafrangies, 266.
Petapoli, 305, 342; letter from, 47; letter to, 217; position of, xxxviii, 41 *n.*; trade at, 41, 44, 151, 165, 261–4, 304; factory dissolved, xliv, 262, 304; trade commended, 209, 262, 304.
Pettolas, 63, 93, 95, 102.
Pettus, Edward, 186.
Phenix, John, 222.
Pice, proposal to melt, 142; prohibited, 144; number to the mahmūdī and the rupee, 269.
Pictures, 266; very saleable, 54; not wanted, 78, 164; except for presents, 174; presented to the King, 111.
Pike, George, left at Surat, 56; employed as a factor, 250; at Broach, 273; his honesty doubted, 312; letters signed by, 273, 278, 280 (2), 294, 299, 307, 308, 312, 313, 315, 338, 340, 341 (2), 347, 351, 355.
Pilgar chawdar, 63, 93.
Pinder, —, master of the *Andrew*, 272, 301, 311; his narrative referred to, 202 *n.*, 220 *n.*, 284 *n.*, 286 *n.*
Pintadoes, 24, 46, 51, 161.
Pipplī, 213.
Pirates in Eastern waters, 5, 17, 24, 29, 131, 139, 185.
Pīshkhāna, 268.
Pīshkash, 107.
Pitcharies, 63, 93.
Pitt, Richard, 65 *n.*
Pitt, Thomas, 65 *n.*
Pitt, William, 65 *n.*
Plague, at Agra, 47, 82.
Pole, a. *See* Baptista.
Pollsbrooke, —, 348.
Polonia cloth, 162.
Pomerin, 189, 232.
Ponānī, 71 *n.*
Popillees, 94, 235.
Popinjays (cloths), 47.
Porcelain, sale of, in India (*see also* Soares),

18, 42, 47, 208, 263, 306; in Persia, 16; taken in a prize, 75.
Pore, 147.
Portuguese, the, trade in India, 10, 21, 31, 55, 57, 185, 195, 197, 213, 289; and the Persian trade, 12; exact tolls from native vessels (*see also* Passes), 81, 184; embassy to Jahāngīr, 15, 17; Roe's efforts to make peace, 15, 159 (2); their attitude towards English trade, 22; Company's instructions too weak, 251; threatened attack on the English at Swally, 82, 83, 96, 115, 122, 124, 134, 179, 332; reported capture of English ships by, 307; carrack sunk by the English, 68; another held to ransom, 53, 77; a fleet chased by the English, 86; ships taken by the English, 20, 45, 55, 66, 68, 75, 79, 181, 187, 220, 225-7, 232, 241, 272, 279 (2), 281, 284 (2), 285 (2), 287, 324, 325; taken by the Dutch, 48, 165; Anglo-Dutch fleet sent against, xliii, 275-7, 290, 304, 329; Macao reinforced, 265; Kishm taken by, 333; factories in Siam and at Patani destroyed by, 166; native boats captured by, 119, 254 *n.*, 264; Danish ship taken by, 166; squadron for Coromandel Coast, 19, 27; quarrels with Ikkeri, 81. *See also* Bengal, Dābhol, Damān, De Andrade, Diu, Goa, Persia, Gomez, Mansūr Khān, Musquette, Soares.
Powra, 97.
Praychaes, 195.
Presents from natives to be brought to the Company's account, 56.
President, origin of the title, ix.
Prester John, 60.
Priaman, 115, 116, 120, 127, 129, 130, 157, 181.
Price, Robert, 66.
Primrose, the, 284-9, 314.
Pring, Captain Martin, 4, 15, 19, 25 *n.*, 27; letters from, 29, 86, 140; letters to, 18, 27, 117, 128; his instructions to the *Bull*, 24; his commission for the Red Sea voyage, 28; praised by Roe, 13; at Jakatra, 49; goes to the Coromandel Coast, xli, 110 *n.*, 152, 153, 156, 157, 165; succeeds Sir Thomas Dale, 158, 165; sails for Tiku, 165, 181; goes home, 215, 271; notice of, 29 *n.*
Private trade. *See* Trade.
Prize-money, 29, 68, 237, 279, 302, 312, 325, 328.
Pucka, 74.
Pulicat, Dutch fort at, 48, 196, 298, 305; Portuguese designs on, 27; hostilities with the natives, 196, 210; Dutch ships there, 166; English ships at, 261; an Englishwoman escapes to, 266; English factory established at, 196, 265, 297, 298 *n.*; agreement for, xliii, 253, 298; attitude of the Dutch, 298 *n.*, 342; prospects of trade, 196, 209, 305, 342.
'Purchase,' 342.
Purifie, John, 143.
Purses, 54.

Qabīl, 312 *n.*
Qāfila. *See* Caphila.
Qanāt, 174.
Qarārī, 199.
Qāsid, 145, 248, 337.
Qaul, 274, 347.
Qāzī, 39, 81, 84, 89, 102, 103, 105, 236, 269, 273, 274, 322.
Quamma, River, 57, 58.
Quetions. *See* Guetunes.
Quicksilver, wanted, 18, 78, 326; sale of, 47, 55, 189, 200, 201, 218, 219, 251, 266, 326; price of, 12, 42, 154, 326; leakage of, 137, 184, 326; brought by Portuguese, 10, 11; from China, 55; brought by Dutch, 55.
Quilon, 1.
Quilts, 10, 46, 51, 61, 75, 84, 85, 92, 103, 108, 161, 178, 195, 198, 206, 235, 250, 293, 301.
Quince, Thomas, 237, 252, 278; letter from, 291.
Quintal, 66, 105 *n.*
Qulich Khān, 150 *n.*
Qutnī, 10 *n.*, 92, 178.

Rack, 66, 232.
Radwassett, 307.
Rāhdārī, 84.
Rahmoutes, 193.
Raihān, Sīdī, 297.
Rāja, story of an atheistic, 26.
Rajab Aghā, Governor of Mokha, 34; his farmān to the merchants of the *Anne*, 33; letter to Roe, 44.
Rājāpur, 106.
Ralegh, Sir Walter, execution of, 110, 115.
Ramlecba, 98.
Ramprasād, debt of, 269, 322, 335, 341.
Rāmrikhbhāi, 98.
Rānder, 130, 137, 158.
'Randevoos,' 245.
Raneel. *See* Rānder.
Ras-al-hadd, 285, 288, 324.
Rasseyes, 69, 179, 213.
Rastell, Thomas, letters to and from, *passim*; second at Surat, vi, 7, 53; appointed chief at Ahmadābād, 111, 190, 207, 249; succeeds Kerridge as President at Surat, 251; desires to go home, 328.

Ravesteyn. *See* Van Ravesteyn.
Rāyat, 331.
Red Sea, the (*see also* Abyssinia, Jiddah, *and* Mokha), origin of English trade in, xi; Indian junks in, 69, 71, 109, 139, 232; captured by the Dutch, 286, 295, 300, 300 *n.*, 322; a French ship visits, 255; coral from, 55, 131.
Redondo, Conde de, 31, 154.
Reeses. *See* Rasseyes.
Rex, to play, 323.
Reyses. *See* Rasseyes.
Reza, 192, 205.
Rials, exchange of, 7; packing of, 333; invoiced at 4*s.*, 8; calculated at 4*s.* 6*d.*, xx; rated at 5*s.* in paying wages, 187; value in rupees, 8, 314; in mahmūdis, 106 (2), 140, 146, 155; in pagodas, 158; gold rials, 57.
Rich, Sir Robert, 17, 29.
Richard, the, 271, 272, 279 (2), 339; captures a Portuguese ship, 272, 324.
Rickman, —, 45.
Robbins, William, 141.
Robert, the, 339.
Robinson, Peter, 225.
Roe, Sir Thomas, 26, 56, 60, 81, 85, 92, 96, 97, 108, 112, 134, 140 (2), 150, 162, 173 (3), 180 *n.*, 215, 219 *n.*, 252; letters from, 2, 12, 13, 18, 23, 27, 33, 50 (3), 67; his correspondence with James I, vi, 16, 21; letter to, 49; his journal, vi, 13; instructions for Persia, 2; his advocacy of trade with the Red Sea, xi; instructions for the voyage to Mokha, 19; on trade with Persia, 12; his relations with Jahāngīr, 14, 75; and Āsaf Khān, 9, 11; negotiations with the Prince, 38, 40, 59, 79, 80, 321; and with Partab Shāh, 74 *n.*; arrangements at Surat, 58, 75, 125; confers with Dutch, 65; negotiations with the Portuguese, 15, 159; goes home in the *Anne*, 28, 77, 81, 110 *n.*, 125, 135, 159, 176; results of his embassy, viii; the Company's liberality to, 215; complaints and charges against, 37, 54, 59, 75, 76, 91, 92, 167; his wife, 50.
Roebuck, the, voyage of, 202, 203; arrives at Swally, 203, 206, 214, 215, 227; sent to Jask, 203, 204, 207, 220–8, 237, 242; Christopher Browne made master of, 225; proposal to send her home, 235, 237, 249, 342; goes to the coast of Arabia, 244–6, 248 *n.*, 284–9, 323, 324, 342; leaves for England, 285 *n.*, 328.
Rose, the, 73, 156, 167, 216, 271 (2), 279, 324, 339.
Rowe, John, 45.
Royal Anne. See *Anne*.
Royal Exchange, the. See *Exchange*.
Royal James, the, 25, 25 *n.*, 27 (3), 31, 49, 86 (2), 156, 266 *n.*, 271; leakiness of, 15, 29.
Rubies, 14, 18, 21, 185, 266, 327.
Ruby, the, 124 *n.*, 125, 133, 134, 206, 212.
Run, Pulo, conquered by the Dutch, 299, 303.
Rūnās, 311.
Rupees, equivalent in mahmūdīs, 235; number of pice to, 269; *kasradī*, 248; *korā*, 113; *nūrī*, 236 (2); *sikkā*, 113, 182; *tāza-sikkā*, 248.
Ruslack. *See* Lac.
Rustam Khān, 188, 303, 344, 347, 350, 355 (2); made Governor of Gujarāt, 320, 332 (2).
Ruy Freire. *See* De Andrade.

Sabony, 63, 93.
Saffron, price of, 169.
Saffron de la terra, 142.
Safī Khān, requires a pass, 278; his claim for restitution of money taken from a Portuguese prize, 334 (3), 344, 345, 348–50, 353 (2); stops Dutch goods, 350, 354, 355; married to a daughter of Āsaf Khān, 353.
Sag-māda bachcha, 151.
Sahan cloth, purchases of, 46, 178, 193, 197, 206, 230, 235, 258, 351; price of, 61, 260; used for quilts, 84; suitable for England, 85; note on, 193 *n.*
Saidābād, 194.
Sailors, diet of, 133, 185, 250, 290; mortality amongst, 185; riotous conduct of, 52, 153, 154, 156, 250; private trade of, 1, 184, 215; prize-money claimed by, *see* Prize-money; wages advanced to, 187.
St. Augustine's Bay, 271 (2), 324.
St. Lawrence. *See* Madagascar.
Sakhera, 308.
Sal-ammoniac, provision of, 76, 100, 113, 142; not to be sent home, 8, 58.
Salampores (piece-goods), 42.
Salbank, Joseph, letters from, 271, 309, 312, 313, 329, 339, 344, 351, 352; sent to Mokha, xiii, xiv, 9, 27, 33, 35 (2), 36 *n.*, 44, 66, 69, 79; at Surat, 146; designated by the Company for employment in the Red Sea, 249; returns to India, 271; sent to Ahmadābād and Cambay, 307–13, 329, 330, 352; praised, 186; payment to, 186; his wife, 339.
Sālih Āghā. *See* Cambay, Governor of.
Salmon, Nathaniel, death of, 51, 86.
Saltpetre, 251.
Samaleh, 206.
Samāna, town of, xxi, 168; goods to be

provided at, 178, 257; factors sent to, 181–3, 234 (2), 267; letters from, 257, 267; funds at, 235; goods from, 257, 336, 346; the factors return, 336; dispatched again, 337, 346; permanent factory unnecessary, 258.
Samānas or Semianoes (piece-goods), xxi, 236; purchase of, 46, 47, 51, 58, 73, 93, 102, 178, 183, 188, 201, 234, 235, 323, 326; price of, 61, 161; packing of, 161; the Company dissatisfied with, 126, 160, 169; suitable for England, 84, 168; the Portuguese buy, 214.
Samaritan, the, 67 *n.*, 333.
Sambelott, 308, 309 *n.*
Samorin, the. *See* Calicut.
Sampson, the, 156, 166, 264, 278, 295, 317 *n.*, 324, 325 (2).
S. Antonio, the, captured and renamed the *Mayflower*, 284–8.
San Thomé, 303, 305.
Sana, 34, 136; Pasha of, letter to and farmān from, 34, 35, 44, 67.
Sandal-wood in Madagascar, 55, 67.
Sanders, Mews, 276.
Sanguis Draconis, 60, 66.
Sankheda, 308.
Sarāī, 103, 336.
Sarkhej, situation of, 7 *n.*; letters from, 278, 310, 343, 344; English factors at, 7, 278, 306, 308, 330, 351; Dutch at, 330, 348, 350, 354, 355; indigo from, 61, 62, 116, 184, 323, 324.
Sarpūsh, 74.
Satgāon, 195, 197, 198, 206.
Satī, 247.
Satins, wanted, 134, 327; sale of, 54, 78, 164, 174.
Sattevila, 62.
Saunders, Richard, 185, 201.
Savoye. See *Sawāī*.
Sawāī, 194, 204 (2), 205, 253.
Scales and weights, 8, 274.
Schiedam, the, 202 (2), 298, 299, 303.
Screets, 4, 273, 350, 352; term explained, 4 *n.*
Scrivan, 232.
Sealas. *See* Selaus.
Seaturn, 222, 223 (2).
Sebastian. *See* Fiorino.
Sebesi, Pulo, 156 *n.*
Seer, weight of, 169, 193, 194, 213.
Sehum cloth. *See* Sahan.
Selaus, 63, 93, 94 (2), 266, 307.
Selimpore, 192 *n.*
Semianoes. *See* Samānas.
Senend, 167 *n.*
Sequins, 227, 325.
Seraphins, 216.
Seras (piece-goods), 63, 93, 235.
Serasses (piece-goods), 43, 178, 266.
Serbandy silk (*see also* Patna), 194, 197, 198, 205, 229, 253; term explained, 194 *n.*
Serebaffes, 63, 64, 94, 100, 118.
Sern. *See* Mauritius.
Seroyne, —, letter to, 180.
Seryas, 348.
Shag, 21.
Shāh Jahān (Khurram), Prince, v, 167; Governor of Gujarāt, 9 *n.*; Roe and, 13, 14, 38, 40, 59, 75, 79; 'absolute king,' 17; confirms English trade at Surat, 18; his farmān for the English house there, 37; he quits Burhānpur, 52; his messages to the King of Bījāpur, 54, 332; relieves Burhānpur, 210 *n.*; his relations with Malik Ambar, 333; grants farmāns for the release of the caravans, &c., 106, 107 (2), 118, 120, 121; petitions to, for redress of grievances, 121, 126 (2), 131, 137, 146 (2), 174, 175; his difference with his brother, 108 *n.*; angry about a picture, 111, 123; in disgrace with his father, 122, 123; presents for, 131; buys English goods, 134, 184, 201, 340; refuses to permit English trade to Mokha, 164, 182; Biddulph obtains farmāns from, 174–7; Heynes obtains a farmān from, 270, 273, 281, 292, 319, 320, 330–2; his junk, 92, 106, 108, 113, 117 (2), 118, 122, 124, 126, 127, 130, 131, 136, 151, 165, 173, 175, 251, 260; stopped by the English, 240, 328; his mother, 162, 163; his birthday, 332 *n.*
Shāhbandar, 150.
Shāhī, the. See *Begum Shāhī*, the.
Shāhī, value of, 83, 140.
Shāhnawāz Khān, 60 *n.*, 81, 84, 90, 91, 170 *n.*
Shāhū, 248.
Shashes (turban cloths), 58, 64, 76 (2), 142, 189.
Shehr, 113.
Shekesty, 198.
Sherehooks, 68.
Shikdār, 205, 273, 294, 307.
Shilling, the, 339.
Shilling, Captain Andrew, letter from, 28; goes to Mokha (see also *Anne*, the), 28, 33, 35 (2), 37; his second voyage to India, 202, 203, 214, 227; goes to Jask, 203, 204, 206, 207, 215; his fight with the Portuguese, xxix, 220–8, 241; death and burial of, xxix, 225, 226, 228, 242; notice of, 28 *n.*
Shipbuilding in India, 113.
Ships, should be commanded by merchants, 1; excessive expenditure on fresh meat, 133; to be sent out earlier, 206; to

reach home before the end of August, 235, 244; to be fitted with sherehooks, &c., 68; disposal of, left to the Surat Council, 250.
Shirts of mail, 18.
Shitranjī, 354 *n*.
Shot, expended in fights off Jask, 225, 243; deficiency of, 224, 226, 228, 328, 338, 339; Surat authorities forced to supply, 238, 240, 255; making of, 301; chain shot, 68.
Shroffs, 8, 91, 110, 119, 133, 155, 187, 189, 218, 236, 265, 269, 299, 352; term explained, 8 *n*.
Shyām, 253 *n*.
Siam, 158, 165, 255.
Sideabaude, 194.
Sikkā rupees, 113, 182, 248.
Silk (*see also* Bengal, China, Patna, Persia, 'Serbandy'), from Agra, 58, 126, 155, 161, 169; from Khorassan, 251; purchase of, at Masulipatam, 44, 158; patterns for England, 184; sleeve silk, 198, 205; kinds of raw silk, 198.
Silver, imported in ingots, 8, 79, 168, 184; cloth of, 18, 163, 174; lace, 174; chains of, 68, 271.
Simmulye, 206.
Sind. *See* Diul-Sind.
Sinekerra, 308.
'Sircar,' 160, 187, 192, 200, 246, 331, 340; term explained, 160 *n*.
Sirhind, 167 *n*.
Sironj, 108 *n*.
Slaves, 286; disposal of, 310, 313; bought by the Dutch, 277 (2), 279, 300.
Smith, Richard, 263.
Smith, William, 255.
Smythe, Sir Thomas, vi, 23, 50, 232.
Soares, Francisco, claim by, for china delivered to Nicholas Bangham, 59, 77, 89–92, 94, 97, 99–104, 108, 118 (2), 134, 161, 170–3; letter from Kerridge to, 97, 102; his reply, 104; the claim revived, but rejected, 267, 269, 273, 280, 283, 322; rumoured intention to reopen the case, 302, 327, 335; his character, 89 *n*., 273; notice of, 89 *n*.
Socotra, 68; the *Lion* to call at, 60, 66, 82; Bonner's fleet misses, 68; Bickley's fleet unable to call at, 126; Blyth's fleet fails to reach, 284, 288; aloes from, 60, 66, 142; royal letter for King of, 66.
Sofala, 57, 207.
Sollimatt, King of, 24.
Solomon, the, 48 *n*., 49.
Sonāgāon, 195 *n*.
Souri, Andries, Dutch chief at Masulipatam, 254 *n*., 304 (2), 349 *n*.; his visit to the diamond mine, 208 *n*., 255.
Spain, King of, 58.
Spalding, Augustine, 152, 154; letters from, 156, 196; letters to, 114, 117.
Spangles, 63, 64 *n*.
Spaniards, fight with the Dutch, 304.
Spices, the Portuguese bring, 11, 195, 214; sold in India, 42; wanted for India, 18, 52, 65, 208, 341; for Persia, 13, 16, 30; for Mokha, 67; prices of, 44, 47.
Spikenard, 83, 155, 161, 169, 198.
Spirits, not to be sent to India, 18, 21.
Sprage, Thomas, 37; sent to Golconda, 33, 38, 59, 70, 77, 173; imprisoned at Burhānpur, 77, 78, 170; handed over to the English, 89–92, 96, 97, 101, 171–3; released, 103; at Broach, 119, 121, 166; embarks in the *Charles*, 185.
Stamets, 43, 47.
Stanton, Robert, 237.
Star, the, captured by the Dutch, xlii, 157, 167.
Stavely, John, 43.
Steel, Indian, 1, 16, 63, 65, 76, 94, 116, 141; weight and price, 88.
Steel, Richard, 8, 21, 50; not available for Red Sea, 4, 6; starts for Agra, 28; quarrels with an official, 60; returns to England, 60, 77, 169; his project for waterworks, 4, 6, 11, 13, 16, 54, 169; and other schemes, 11, 12, 16; complaints against, 17, 24, 32; private trade of, 60; his house at Surat, 103; his wife, 16, 17, 19, 21, 28, 32, 77.
Strachan, George, surgeon, 237 *n*., 241 (2), 252.
Strong waters, not wanted, 54, 78, 164, 168.
Suakin, 57.
Suffer, Condye, 170 (3), 171 (2), 173 (2).
Sugar and sugar candy, 66; purchase of, 12, 51, 73, 76, 97, 102, 112, 141; saleable in Persia, 16; price of, 102.
Sukadana, 265.
Sultānpur, 195 *n*.
Sun, the, loss of, xxxix, 110, 110 *n*., 114, 156, 185.
Sundelva, 91.
Sūr, Blyth's fleet at, 285, 286, 288.
Surainge, 108 *n*.
Surat, Governors of, list of, 150 (*see also* Jamāl Khān, Is-hāq Beg, *and* Jamshed Beg; Captain of the Castle, *see* Jam Qulī Beg; Customer of, 78, 101, 106, 107, 109, 112, 124, 141, 151, 232, 282; bribes to, and other officials, 188, 232, 238, 319; mint established at, 36, 40, 218, 293; in consequence, the English are forbidden to export their rials, 218, 238, 240, 251, 260, 292, 323; prohibition withdrawn, 325, 331; mosque

at, 40; bazaar of, 106; custom-house at, 106; shipbuilding at, 314; dyes used at, 85; goods to be provided at, 235; English goods suitable for, 18; funds available for investment, 178, 235; the English factors at, letters to and from, *passim*; establishment of the factory by Captain Best, 150; the original farmāns carried away by Captain Keeling, 186; the organization of the factory, 7; powers of the President and Council, 125, 252; Roe offers a fixed payment for customs, 15; attack on the factors, 145–8; disputes over their wearing weapons, 39, 321; the factors imprisoned and forced to restore certain moneys seized by them, 335, 339, 344 (2), 345 (2), 347, 351, 354; the English house at (rented from Khwāja Arab), xvi, 36–40; the Prince's farmān regarding, 37, 150; the factors expelled from this house, 59, 80, 135, 147, 150, and prevented from taking certain others, 75, 80, 101, 103, 126, 175; forced to spread themselves over seven houses, 101, 103, 135; they move to a new dwelling, 105, 106; they urge the Governor to provide them with suitable accommodation, 114, 120; they are forbidden to buy or build, and not allowed to dwell on the riverside, 136; they complain to the Prince, 127, who gives orders to satisfy them, 176, 182; their old house promised, 187, 238; they are permitted to build a dwelling, 325, 331; the natives oppose the English trade to the Red Sea, xiv, 56, 92, 93, 95, 101, 107, 116–18, 121, 127, 131, 134, 146, 151, 174, 175, 177 (2), 182, 237–40, 320, 321, 325, 331; dispute regarding the importation and sale of coral, 54, 78, 130 (3), 131, 137, 151, 158, 175, 176, 182, 184 (2), 185, 187, 204, 227, 237, 239, 240, 249, 251, 255, 320, 321, 323, 325, 331; Dutch factory established at, xxxvi, 15; no supplies received by, 65, 77, 82; investments by, 115, 324; sale of guns and ammunition by, 92, 120, 238; arrival of Van den Broecke, 200, and of Van Ravesteyn, 278, 295; relations with the English factors, 29, 52, 76, 102, 103, 149, 189, 325, 338, 339, 354; shipbuilding by the Dutch, 314.
Surat River, difficult to navigate, 15, 29; pilots needed for, 302.
Surgeons, 19, 27, 99, 100, 252, 266. *See also* Quince, Saunders, Strachan, *and* Symonds.
Sūrjī Nāik, 344.
Surūr, Sīdī, 297.
Sussies, 338.
Sutter jegres, 248.
Swally, letters to and from, and references, *passim*; Portuguese visit, 82, 83, 96; and threaten attack on English ships, 82, 115, 122, 124, 134, 179; natives ordered to assist the latter in that case, 332.
Swan, Richard, master of the *Roebuck*, 204; his account of his voyage to India, 202; and of the fights with the Portuguese, 220; transferred to the *Hart*, 225; letters from, 227, 310, 314; account of the detention of the Prince's junk, 240; and of the voyage to Arabia, 284.
Swanley, Richard, his account of his voyage to Surat, 271.
Swanley, William, 49.
Sword-blades, 64, 78, 81, 189, 233, 289, 290.
Swords, not to be sent to India, 18, 21, 54, 164, 168; except for presents, 174, 184.
Symonds, Bartholomew, surgeon, 285, 288.

Table-books, 54.
Taffetas, 18, 178, 198, 229, 350.
Tagias, 352 *n.*
Tags, 352.
Taiwī, 285 (2), 288.
Taīz, 35.
Takā, 256.
Taksāl, 293.
Tamarinds, 76, 142.
Tanjūr, Nāyak of, xlv.
Tank, 259.
Tānī, 74.
Tapeanacke (piece-goods), 43.
Tapechindies, 93, 95, 293.
Tapestry, sale of, 21 (2), 134, 162, 174, 192, 246; not wanted, 78; rejected by the Prince, 340, 341.
Tapī Dās, 98.
Tappe finnes, 266.
Tappies (piece-goods), 43, 266.
Tapseeles, 62, 93, 293, 329, 344, 351.
Tarī, 106, 278.
Tasar silk, 112 (2), 197, 198, 206.
Tasū, equivalent of, 93 *n.*, 116.
Tavery, 278.
Taylor, Thomas, 225, 249.
Tāza-sikkā, 248.
Tegnapatam, 303.
Tenasserim, 44, 265.
Tergoes, the, 41.
Tessar. See *Tasar*.
Tessue. See *Tasū*.
Teve. *See* Taiwī.
Thomas, the, 48 *n.*, 49.
Thomas, Richard, 43.
Thompson. *See* Tomson.
Thornborough, Thomas, 328.

Tiku, ships for, 1, 165; goods for, 65, 88; news from, 24; events at, 56, 73; the English expelled from, 49, 65, 68, 77, 82; English ships captured at, 167; the Dutch at, 49, 65.
Tin, 66, 78; sale of, 47, 54, 201; wanted, 134, 233; price of, 184; the Portuguese bring, 10, 11, 55, 195, 214.
Tipton, Francis, 30, 47, 55, 60, 140.
Tirandāz, 74, 256.
Tobacco, 20 *n.*; price of, 64, 109; the Prince's junk laden with, 92.
Toddy, 185.
Tolā, 47; equivalent of, 57; note on, 47 *n.*
Tomson, Thomas, 214.
Topha. See *Tuhfa.*
Tortoise-shells, 55, 68.
Tottle, Robert, 119, 122 (2); letter from, 280; letter to, 122.
Towerson, Gabriel, 24, 237, 327; sails for England, 77; goes to Bantam, 216; private trade of, 16, 60; his wife, 16, 19, 89 *n.*, 155, 168, 184, 327.
Tracy, William, 141.
Trade, private, 1, 184, 188 (2), 189, 208, 215; prevalence of, 153, 158; charges of, 8, 16, 50, 60, 183 (2); prevention of, 52, 143; prohibited at Pulicat, 254.
Tranquebar, establishment of Danes at, xlv, 254 *n.*
Treaty of Defence. *See* Defence, Treaty of.
Tricandies, 63, 94, 95, 142; note on, 95 *n.*
Trikamdās, 352.
Trinidada Island, 271.
Tucker, John, 70, 73.
Tuckrees, 197 *n.*
Tuhfa, 126, 131, 230, 273, 282, 307.
'Tuke,' 256.
Turbith, 83.
Turkey, Sultan of, 16, 20, 35, 57, 67, 245.
Turmeric, 62, 76, 235, 250.
Tway, Robert, 309.

Ufflet, Nicholas, xxi *n.*, 10 *n.*, 61 *n.*, 157, 165, 185, 195 *n.*
Umāra, 274, 303.
Umbras, 274, 303.
Unicorn, the, 1, 2, 41–3, 51, 152, 156 (2), 157, 188, 266.
Unicorn's horn, 11, 58, 184.
Unity, the, 202, 214.
Urpall. *See* Olpād.
Uzbeg, 333.

Vaggee. *See* Haji.
Van Baccum, Nicolas, 202.
Van den Broecke, Pieter: his voyage to the Red Sea, xi; loss of his ship, xxxvi, 65; marches across India, 29; arrives at Surat as Dutch chief, xxxvi, 200 *n.*, 240 *n.*, 294, 300 *n.*, 323, 325 *n.*, 348.
Van Gorcom, Jan, 276.
Van Ravesteyn, Pieter Gillesz, xxxvii, 15 *n.*, 264, 278; notice of, 264 *n.*
Van Uffelen, Abraham, appointed Dutch chief at Masulipatam, 349, 349 *n.*
Variao, 129.
Vellum, 61.
Velvets, 21, 164, 174, 188, 192.
Venetians in India, 53, 257, 291, 327.
Vengaroon, bay of, 157.
Venice gold, 164.
Vermilion, 11, 18, 42, 47, 55, 78, 154, 189.
Verourd, 198, 247.
Vienna, reported siege of, 216.
Vilinjam, 1 *n.*, 73, 86.
Vīrjī Vōra, 86, 114, 231.
Viss, 208 *n.*; equivalent of, 262.
Vizeapore. *See* Bījāpur.
Vyse. *See* Viss.

Waldo, Lawrence, 153.
Walker, Joseph, 167, 189, 285.
Waller, Thomas, 222.
Wallis, —, 66.
Wapen van Zeeland, the, 200 *n.*, 203 (3), 227.
Wapping Church, collection for, 25.
Watchets, 51, 61, 62, 162, 178, 235 (2), 250.
Wax, from Abyssinia, 57; sealing-, 58, 62, 235, 250.
Weddell, John, 132, 133; letters to, 180, 307; letters from, to the Surat factors, 271, 279 (2), 294 (2), 295 (3), 300, 301, 306, 310, 313; to the Company, 338; second voyage to India, 271–3; arrival at Surat, 279, 281, 286, 324; ordered to Jask, 310; his position with regard to Captain Blyth, 313; notice of, 271 *n.*
Wesp, the, 295, 324.
Whale, the, 271 *n.*, 272, 279 (2), 338 (2), 339.
Wheat, sent from Surat to Bantam, 58, 63, 184; purchases at Surat and Broach, 120, 121.
Wheatley, Henry, 333.
White, Daniel, 56, 70–3.
White Bear, the (Dutch ship), 151, 154, 158.
White Bear, the (English ship), 202, 214, 254 *n.*, 255.
Wight. *See* White.
Willoughby, John, letter to the Company, 167; appointed third at Agra, 103, 169; follows the Court, 164, 174; sent to Lahore, 173, 234, 335; returns to Agra, 267, 336; dispatched to Samāna, 337, 346.